



ENGINEERING LIB.



757
h
oak
1





THE
BOOK OF THE
ARMY
OF THE

UNITED STATES



BY

Saml. P. D.

NEW YORK
D. APPLETON & CO.

1845.



THE
BOOK OF THE ARMY:

COMPRISING
A GENERAL MILITARY HISTORY
OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME,
WITH PARTICULAR ACCOUNTS OF ALL THE MOST CELE-
BRATED BATTLES.

COMPILED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

BY JOHN FROST, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF BELLES LETTRES IN THE HIGH
SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON & CO. 200 BROADWAY.
PHILADELPHIA:
GEO. S. APPLETON 148 CHESTNUT ST.
1845.

ENGINEERING LIBR.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1845 by

D. APPLETON & CO.

in the office of the Clerk of the District Court for the
Southern District of New York.

E181
F8
Engin.
lib.

CONTENTS.

	Page
CHAPTER I.	
Causes of the Revolution	13
CHAPTER II.	
Commencement of the Revolutionary War	19
CHAPTER III.	
Expedition to Canada	35
CHAPTER IV.	
Campaign of 1776	41
CHAPTER V.	
Campaign of 1777	76
CHAPTER VI.	
Northern Campaign of 1777	101
CHAPTER VII.	
Campaign of 1778	121
CHAPTER VIII.	
Campaign of 1779	143
CHAPTER IX.	
Campaign of 1780	167
CHAPTER X.	
Campaign of 1781	203
CHAPTER XI.	
Close of the Revolution	228

M798105

	Page
CHAPTER XII.	
The Campaign in Africa	239
CHAPTER XIII.	
The North-west War and the Tippecanoe War	246
CHAPTER XIV.	
Causes of the war of 1812	255
CHAPTER XV.	
Campaign of 1812	260
CHAPTER XVI.	
Northern Campaign of 1813	293
CHAPTER XVII.	
Eastern and Southern Campaign of 1813	325
CHAPTER XVIII.	
Northern Campaign of 1814	353
CHAPTER XIX.	
Eastern and Southern Campaign of 1814	385
CHAPTER XX.	
Black Hawk's War	435
CHAPTER XXI.	
The Seminole Wars	442

P R E F A C E .

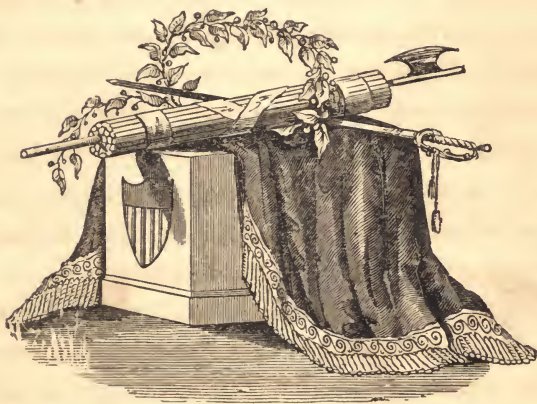
THE cordial reception, given to the "BOOK OF THE NAVY," has encouraged the author to offer the "BOOK OF THE ARMY" to the notice of an indulgent public. The two volumes are intended to form a history of our national defence from the period of the declaration of independence to the present time. The plan of detaching this portion of the history of the country from its political and social annals and presenting it separately is believed to be attended with some peculiar advantages. By narrating the military operations of each period distinctly, it illustrates the importance of military organization for the preservation of national independence and the defence of the soil; by exhibiting the character and results of the several contests in which the country has been engaged, it shews the necessity of military discipline, as well as courage and patriotism, for the efficiency of armies; by holding up to view the numerous examples, which occur, of individual ability and intrepidity, it tends to preserve the

national spirit and to excite emulation among those upon whom the national defence will hereafter devolve ; by disclosing the disasters which have resulted, at various times from the want of a due estimate of the importance of military preparation for war in time of peace, it conveys an important lesson to all who are entrusted with the duties of legislation and the administration of national affairs.

Such advantages resulting from distinct military history will justify the author's design to all readers who pay attention to the practical utility of what they read ; while those who read for entertainment will not fail to find their taste gratified in the varied and romantic fortunes which have attended our American military heroes and the vicissitudes of our patriot armies ; and the reflective reader will not fail to observe the signal instances of Divine favour and protection which have so often been extended to the defenders of our national liberty and independence.

The authorities from which the history is drawn are chiefly contemporary with the events narrated ; and often these accounts of battles are given in the words of eye witnesses, such accounts being preferred for their vividness and truth. By the help of Mr. Darley's designs of the great battles, and the masterly engraving of Lossing, Devereux and Illman, the volume goes forth embellished in a style

which it is hoped will be deemed not unworthy of the subject. Its preparation has cost much time and expense from the anxiety of both author and publishers to render it worthy of the same distinguished favour, which has attended the publication of the "Book of the Navy," of which it is intended to be the sequel and companion.



THE
BOOK
OF
THE ARMY.



CHAPTER I.

Causes of the Revolution.



URING the wars of France and Great Britain, the French, who had possession of the Canadas, formed close alliances with the Indians, over whom they had more influence than any other European nation. With these savage auxiliaries, they were ever making predatory incursions into the English Colonies, carrying fire and sword wherever they went; burning the villages, massacring the in-

habitants, and showing mercy to none. This imminent danger roused the colonists from inactivity, and called into action all their powers to ward it off. The assistance and co-operation of the parent country in this warfare, had the effect of drawing closer the ties of a common interest, and strengthening those relations which ought to subsist between a nation and her colonies; and this good feeling continued to exist until the close of the Old French War, in 1763. It was during that contest, in asserting and maintaining the pretensions of the King of Great Britain against a foreign enemy, that our forefathers learnt the art of war,—that they disciplined and trained themselves for the part which they were to take in the great Revolutionary struggle. They little thought, when following the gallant Wolfe to the attack on Quebec, that in sixteen years from that time, some of them should be marching against the same place, and against the government which they were then aiding. But so it was.

With the cession of the Canadas to Great Britain, the people of the Colonies found themselves relieved from the fear of foreign invasion, and the spirit of political activity, which had always been kept in a state of restless commotion, was now directed to the adjustment of the relations which existed between them and the parent country. It was unhappily, or rather should we say happily, that the ministry determined on a course of policy, then new to the colonists, and which involved principles and pretensions which they, flushed with their triumphs over the French, could hardly be supposed to allow or submit to, without a struggle to maintain their rights. Hitherto, they had paid no taxes but such as were imposed by their own legislatures, and designed for the defences, improvements, and expenses of their own colonial establishments. Now, they were called upon, by the parliament of Great Britain, a body in which they had no representatives, and which, consequently, had no right to do so, to contribute, by taxes laid by them, to the support of the general government. Soon after the peace with France, the stamp act was passed. The effect of this on the colonists was instantaneous

and terrific. Remonstrances and addresses were sent to the king and parliament from a congress of deputies from nine out of the thirteen colonies. This body also adopted several resolutions, in which they set forth that the inhabitants of the colonies were entitled to the same rights, privileges, and immunities, as the people of Great Britain ; that no taxes had been or could be imposed on them but by representatives chosen by themselves ; that trial by jury was the right of a British subject ; and that the stamp act, by imposing taxes, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond their ancient limits, had a tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists. These resolutions of the deputies, with others passed by them at the same time, are moderate when compared with those of particular states. The people of New England questioned the right and authority of parliament to levy duties or taxes upon the colonies in any form or shape whatever, and maintained that the exercise of such an authority by Parliament was an infraction, not only of the privileges of the colonists as British subjects, but of their rights as men. In the mean time the spirit of tumult and insurrection was aroused in all the large cities. The people met and expressed their indignation by destroying the property of those who were appointed to distribute the stamped papers, and burning them in effigy. When the stamps arrived, in some places they were not allowed to be taken out of the ships ; in others, the bells were tolled, and the flags of the shipping were hoisted at half-mast.

In the following year, 1766, the stamp act was repealed ; but in 1767, Parliament passed an act, imposing duties on paper, glass, painters' colours, and teas imported into the colonies. Petitions, resolutions and remonstrances were again sent to the British ministry by the colonists ; and in 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter "to the representatives and burgesses of the people throughout the continent," calling on them to unite with the people of Massachusetts in suitable measures to obtain redress. This was approved by the other colonial assemblies, and

many of them joined their petitions to those which had already been sent by the assembly. This act gave great offence to the British government, and on the refusal of Massachusetts to rescind the resolutions and votes by which the circular letter was agreed upon, and some resistance being made to the collection of the duties imposed by the new acts, an armed force was sent to Boston and quartered in the public buildings. The colonists, though disgusted and insulted, were not overawed by the presence of the military. They refused to provide them with barracks: and such was their antipathy to having soldiers quartered in their town, that they were continually quarrelling with them. On the 5th of March, 1770, while a company of the soldiers was under arms, the populace pressed upon them, insulted them by throwing missiles at them and daring them to fire. One of the soldiers received a blow from something that was thrown, and fired at the aggressor. This was followed by a discharge from some of the other soldiers, by which three of the mob were killed and five dangerously wounded. The whole town was instantly in the greatest commotion, and thousands of the people assembled; the drums beat to arms, and the rest of the troops were assembled. The people were quieted by the assurances of the governor that the troops would be removed. The next day they were marched to Castle William. One of the wounded men died, and the bodies of those who had been killed were carried in procession through the town attended by an immense concourse of people, and interred with military honors. The company of soldiers and their captain were brought to trial and two of them were found guilty of manslaughter. The others were acquitted.

On the 12th of April, 1770, all the duties, except that on tea were repealed. This was unsatisfactory to the colonists, as it still left the great principle of the right of taxation unsettled; and they determined to oppose it. Meetings were held, at which it was resolved that they would abstain from the use of tea until the duty was taken off it. On the arrival of the tea-ships at the port of Charleston, the tea was taken out and

stored in cellars, where it was left to rot. The ships which came to Philadelphia and New York, were sent back, with their ladings, to England. The consignees of the Boston ships, refusing to send them back, a company of armed men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded them, and breaking the boxes, emptied the tea into the dock. This again roused the indignation, and called forth the resentment of the English ministry ; and the Boston Port Bill was passed, by which the privilege of landing or discharging, lading or shipping goods, wares, and merchandise, was taken from the port of Boston, and every vessel was required to leave the harbour, unless laden with food or fuel. On receiving the news of the passage of this bill, the legislatures of the different colonies passed resolutions expressive of their sympathy with the suffering inhabitants of Boston ; and sent them letters and addresses, approving their conduct, and assuring them of their assistance if they should be driven to take up arms. Contributions were everywhere raised for the relief of those whose means of subsistence would be taken from them by the closing of their port, and the loss of their trade.

On the 5th of September, 1774, the first Continental Congress, consisting of delegates from eleven colonies, met at Philadelphia, and agreed upon a declaration of rights. A petition was sent to the king, and addresses voted to the people of the Canadas, to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and to the American people. After renewing the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, and recommending that another congress be held at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, 1775, unless the redress of their grievances should be previously obtained, they dissolved after a session of eight weeks. The colonists, now becoming daily more alarmed, began to take measures for their defence. They had already collected arms and ammunition in several places ; and the proclamation of the king, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Great Britain, which reached America towards the close of the year, only hastened their operations ; and resolutions were

passed in some of the colonies for obtaining arms and military stores, and raising and arming the inhabitants.

In the meantime, the king refused to hear the petition of the Continental Congress; and bills were passed by Parliament for restraining further the trade of the colonies. In February, 1775, a provincial congress met in Massachusetts, and published a resolution, stating that the total destruction of the colony was to be apprehended, from the tenor of the news from England; and that large reinforcements of troops were daily expected. They recommended the militia, and especially a select body of armed men, who held themselves in readiness to march at a minute's warning, and hence were called minute men, to use all diligence in perfecting themselves in military discipline. They also passed resolutions for collecting and storing fire arms, and provisions. These orders and resolutions were eagerly and strictly complied with.

Thus were matters rapidly drawing to a crisis. Eleven years only had passed since the Treaty of Paris, which terminated the seven years' war, and many of the officers who had distinguished themselves in that war, were now ready to assist their countrymen with their experience and their influence, in that which now seemed approaching with giant strides. No open acts of hostility, had, as yet taken place, but the time was fast approaching for the people of America to show to the inhabitants of Great Britain that they were no longer to be insulted, enslaved and trampled on—that they were ready to assert and maintain by the sword those rights which had been denied them when humbly petitioned for. The battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, a detailed account of which we will reserve for our next chapter, commenced that war which ended in the independence of our beloved country, and ensured to us the blessings of that liberty for which they fought and died.



CHAPTER II.

Commencement of the Revolutionary War.



T soon became evident that the time had at length arrived in which it was necessary for the Americans to oppose British oppression by force of arms. They had collected some military stores at Con-

cord, which General Gage, the British Governor, determined to destroy. For this purpose a secret expedition was planned, to set out from Boston on the 19th of April; but, by some means or other, the Americans had obtained information of the meditated attack, the Committee of Safety had taken measures to save the stores at that place, by removing them to different places, and the whole population of the towns through which the British troops were to pass, were alarmed and ready to oppose them as soon as they should make their appearance. At this time, the Americans had no

regular commander, and consequently could not act in concert, but the opposition and spirit manifested by these detached companies of militia served to show the British government that every inch of ground would be disputed with obstinacy and determination.

The British Grenadiers and Light Infantry, to the number of about eight hundred, under Lieutenant Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, left Boston on the evening of the 18th, and proceeded towards Concord. When they reached Lexington, they saw a company of about one hundred men assembled on the green near the church; and Major Pitcairn riding up, called out "Disperse, ye rebels, throw down your arms and disperse." The British then advanced in quick march, and the Americans, seeing their numerical superiority, began to disperse, when the regulars huzzaed, a pistol or two was discharged by some of their officers; then the report of four or five muskets, discharged by the soldiers, which was followed immediately by a general discharge, by which eight of the Americans were killed and seven wounded. The detachment then hastened on to Concord, where they destroyed a few military articles, and sixty barrels of flour.

The British were now, however, completely alarmed; they saw the militia from the neighboring towns advancing along the roads; they saw the heights around the town lined with women and children, who fled from the town at their approach, and whom they magnified, in their terror, into armed warriors. Parties were despatched to the different bridges to prevent the entrance of the Americans. One of these parties tore up the planks of the South bridge; the other attempted to destroy the North bridge; but the militia, resolving to keep open the communication with the town, advanced in regular order, commanded for the time by Colonel Robinson and Major Buttrick. The Acton militia, led on by the gallant Davis, formed the van. As this little company approached, the British fired three alarm guns, but seeing that that had no effect on the advancing column, one of the soldiers discharged his musket at Major Buttrick. The ball passed between his



W. H. R. BRADLEY

O'BRIEN & CO.



arm and his side, and slightly wounded a person behind him. This was the signal for a general discharge from the regulars, by which Captain Davis and others were killed. The Americans now returned the fire, and compelled the British to retreat towards the centre of the town, where they hastily reassembled their several detachments, and then commenced that celebrated retreat, in which they first felt the galling effects of fire-arms, in the hands of freemen whom they had insulted and endeavoured to enslave.

The whole country was by that time alarmed : the minute-men, volunteers, and militia, assembled from all quarters, and posted themselves among the trees, in houses, and behind walls, along the road through which the British troops were to pass, while the militia who had been engaged at the bridge, reinforced by others from the country, pressed upon their rear. Through this living wall of the yeomanry of the country, they commenced their retreat towards Boston ; and no retreat recorded in the annals of history, except, indeed, it be that of Napoleon from Russia in 1812, can for an instant be compared with that of the British troops from Concord. As soon as they began their march, an incessant, though irregular fire commenced, which was kept up during the whole of their march back to Lexington, "whither," says one of their own historians, "they were driven before the Americans like sheep."

While they were at Lexington in the morning, the dispositions of the Americans alarmed Lieutenant Colonel Smith so much that he sent to General Gage for a reinforcement. Lord Percy was immediately ordered out with about a thousand men and two field pieces. He took the road over the neck through Roxbury, his band during the march playing "Yankee Doodle," by way of showing their contempt for, and derision of the *Yankees*. They played a different tune on their return. This reinforcement joined the party under Colonel Smith at Lexington, just in time to save that devoted body from entire demolition.

Percy formed his detachment in the form of a square, in

the centre of which he enclosed Colonel Smith's party, who were "so much exhausted with fatigue" says the same British writer which we have before quoted, "that they were obliged to lie down for rest on the ground, their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase." After resting in this manner for a few minutes, Lord Percy deemed it prudent to commence his march towards Boston. During the whole of that arduous march, the Americans kept up an incessant fire on the retreating column, from the walls, houses, and trees along the road, which it was useless for the British to return, as the Americans were concealed, and they could see no object at which to fire. Their great object was to reach Boston with as little loss as possible; but, the fire of the Americans slackening a little at some parts of the road, they took the opportunity to set fire to a few houses, to plunder others, and to murder some persons found in their houses, though they were unarmed.

They arrived at Charlestown at sun-set, quite spent and worn down with fatigue. The British boats immediately conveyed the wounded to Boston, while the remainder of the troops at that place, crossed to Charlestown to defend their exhausted comrades during the night. The loss sustained during that day, by the British, was sixty-five men killed, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and twenty-four made prisoners. That of the Americans was forty-nine killed, and thirty-nine wounded and missing.

This affair had the effect of placing the colonies at open variance with the mother country; but, still they aimed not at independence, it was not until months of war showed them that they need expect no reconciliation with the mother country, that they grasped at *freedom*, at *independent* liberty. On the 19th of April, 1775, they also experienced the efficiency with which they might act against the all-conquering regulars of Britain, and led them to trust in themselves, their knowledge of their weapons, and the fatal precision of their marksmen. They did not stop with compelling the regulars to seek the protection of Boston. An army sprung up almost

instantaneously, soldiers flocked towards that point from all the colonies, and before the close of the next day, the royal army was completely inclosed, and formally besieged in Boston.

The affair at Lexington was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts immediately passed resolutions for raising an army of thirty thousand men in New England. This force was soon added to the force blockading Boston, and General Gage, beginning to feel alarmed at the prospect before him, declared the colony of Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion.

In the meantime, a small body of the militia of Connecticut, consisting principally of hardy mountaineers, known throughout the country by the name of the Green Mountain Boys, headed by Colonel Ethan Allen and Colonel Benedict Arnold, proceeded against Ticonderoga, a fortress which in the event of a final struggle, would be of the greatest importance to the Americans. Situated on a promontory, formed at the junction of the waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain, it was the key of all communication between New York and Canada. With less than three hundred men they proceeded on their expedition, and on the night of the 9th of May, arrived on the shore of Lake Champlain, opposite Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold crossed over with eighty-three men, and landed near the garrison. At first, the two colonels contended for the post of danger, but it was at length decided that they should enter the fort together; they accordingly advanced abreast, and entered the fortress at the dawn of day. A sentinel snapped his piece at them and then retreated through the covered way to the parade, whither he was immediately followed by the Americans. When they reached the open space, used as a place for the parade of the troops, they drew up in the form of a hollow square, and awakened the garrison with three loud huzzas. Some slight skirmishing ensued. Allen proceeded to the quarters of De La Place, the commander of the fort, knocked loudly at the door of his room where he was

lying asleep. Allen called on him instantly to appear, or his whole garrison would be sacrificed. The astonished captain came forth rubbing his eyes, and wondering what such an unexpected summons could mean, when he was ordered instantly to surrender the fort. Surprised at the demand, he asked, "By what authority" he presumed to call on him for such an act. "I demand it," replied Allen, in a loud voice, "in the name of the great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress."

Captain De La Place, had, probably, never heard of the Continental Congress, and began to argue. But Allen lifted his sword above his head, and reiterated his demand. The summons was obeyed; and the fort, with one hundred pieces of cannon, other valuable stores, and forty-eight prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans. The boats which had conveyed the first party across the lake, had been sent back for the remainder of the men, but the business was done before they arrived.

Colonel Seth Warner was sent off with a party, to take possession of Crown point, which was garrisoned by a sergeant and twelve men. Their mission was speedily effected. In order to preserve these conquests, it was necessary to obtain the command of the lake. This was effected by Arnold capturing a British sloop of war, lying off St. Johns, at the northern extremity of the lake.

Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton arrived at Boston with considerable reinforcements, about the latter part of May; and General Gage, encouraged by the augmentation of his troops, issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms, except John Hancock and Samuel Adams; and declaring martial law to be in force in Massachusetts. This proclamation only served to unite more closely those whom it was intended to intimidate.

The commanders of the New England army had, about the 14th of June, received advice that General Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's Hill, a promontory just at the entrance



of the peninsula at Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed ; upon which it was determined to send a party, who might erect some fortifications upon the said hill, and defeat the design of our enemies. Accordingly, on the 16th, orders were issued that a detachment of one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown, and intrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the further part of the peninsula, next to Boston, (for by some mistake this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other.) Many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the intrenchments being thrown up, which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design, it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon. They were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity ; so that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy upon Copp's Hill, in Boston, directly opposite our little redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by these upon our works. The Americans continued to labour indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy.

Between twelve and one o'clock a number of boats and barges, filled with the regular troops from Boston, were observed approaching towards Charlestown ; these troops landed at a place called Moreton's Point, situated a little to the eastward of our works. This brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them ; having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march towards our lines. Our troops, within their intrenchments, impatiently awaited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge

of small arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were observed by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up, with apparent reluctance, towards the intrenchments. At this instant, smoke and flames were seen to arise from the town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, that the smoke might cover their attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two of our regiments who had been posted in that town. If either of these was their design, they were disappointed ; for the wind shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the regiments were already removed. The Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable reluctance to fighting in this cause, were again successful. They formed once more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breast-work from one end of it to the other, our troops retreated within their little fort. The ministerial army now made a decisive effort. The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in the front of their army, was redoubled. The officers in the rear of the army were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions, and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breast-work on the outside of the fort was abandoned ; our ammunition was expended, and but few of our troops had bayonets to affix to their muskets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party to retreat ? but this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with regulars, and our

troops had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the butt end of their muskets. The retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of our men, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach; the engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evinced a courage worthy of a better cause: all their efforts however were insufficient to compel their equally gallant opponents to retreat, till their main body had left the hill; perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.

In this retreat the Americans had to pass over the neck which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land. This neck was commanded by the Glasgow man of war, and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner that their shot raked every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this neck had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements from getting to our troops on the hill, and it was feared it would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the ministerial generals again took possession of the hill which had served them as a retreat in flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained, by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant but two miles, and which was not then in a state of defence. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased, when, by the best accounts from Boston, we are told, that of 3000 men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than 1048, (eighty-nine of whom were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded. Such a slaughter was perhaps never before made

upon British troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of the engagement lasted, by about 1500 men, which were the most that were at any time engaged on the American side.

The loss of the New England army amounted, according to an exact return, to 145 killed and missing, and 304 wounded: thirty of the first were wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was Major general JOSEPH WARREN, a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valour shall be esteemed among mankind. The heroic colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, died of his wounds; and the brave lieutenant colonel Parker, of Chelmsford, who was wounded and taken prisoner, perished in Boston gaol. These three, with major Moore, and major M'Clary,* who nobly struggled in the cause of their country, were the only officers of distinction which we lost. The town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were large and elegant, and which contained effects belonging to the unhappy sufferers in Boston, to a very great amount, was entirely destroyed.

The following day the British threw up a breast-work on Bunker's Hill; which commands the neck of the peninsula; and leaving a detachment to defend it, the remaining troops crossed into Boston.†

Such was the battle of Bunker's Hill, which was fought on the 17th of June 1775, and was the first important action that took place in that revolution, which, to use the words of Mr. Pitt, "deprived the diadem of Britain of its finest jewel, and created a great and powerful empire in the west."

After this action the British strongly fortified themselves on the peninsulas both of Boston and Charlestown; while the provincials remained posted in the circumjacent country, and

* This brave officer was killed by a cannon-ball on the retreat, whilst crossing Charlestown Neck. He was generally esteemed, and his loss much regretted.

† *Analectic Magazine*, vol. xi., p. 262—264.

by fortifying Prospect Hill, held their enemies as closely besieged as before.

The second provincial Congress met at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, according to their resolution the preceding year, and Peyton Randolph was again chosen President. Among other business transacted by them, they resolved that the colonies should be put in a state of defence, and that for that purpose twenty thousand men should immediately be equipped. They also chose GEORGE WASHINGTON, a member of the Congress from Virginia, commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised by the UNITED COLONIES.*

On the 2d of July, General Washington arrived at Cambridge, the head-quarters of the American army, where he found between fourteen and fifteen thousand men assembled. These were disorderly, ill armed, ill disciplined, and almost without gunpowder. Washington, at once commenced the herculean task of moulding the mass of men before him into a regular army, and giving to their movements something of the mechanism necessary to the men who expected to contend with the best disciplined troops of Europe. He formed the army into three grand divisions, consisting of about twelve regiments each, and appointed Major General Ward to command the right wing, Major General Lee, the left wing, and Major General Putnam, the reserve. As none of the soldiers were deficient in courage, they were soon moulded into form, and nothing was wanting but effective under officers. The want of gunpowder and arms was not so easily obviated. At the commencement of the contest, the government of Great Britain forbade the exportation of warlike stores to the colonies. It was necessary, therefore, to make great exertions to induce the people to manufacture saltpetre and gunpowder. The supply, however, was still slow and inadequate. A party from Charleston, forcibly took about 17,000 pounds of powder from a vessel near the bar of St.

* Frost's United States, vol. ii, p. 176.

Augustine. Some time after, Commodore Hopkins, stripped Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, of a quantity of artillery and stores; but the whole, procured from all these quarters, fell far short of a sufficiency. The dangerous situation of public affairs led Washington to conceal the real scarcity of arms and ammunition; but he continued to strengthen his camp around Boston, and to occupy a space of ground nearly twelve miles in length.

All this time the British troops were suffering the inconvenience of a blockade. From the 19th of April they were cut off from those refreshments which their situation required; and it was not till the stock of the garrison was nearly exhausted, and famine began to stare them in the face, that the transports from England entered the port of Boston, and relieved the distresses of the garrison. They had strong entrenchments on Bunker's Hill and Roxbury Neck; and were defended by floating batteries in the Mystic river, and a ship of war lying between Boston and Charlestown. The respective forces being thus disposed, the siege of Boston continued until the succeeding year.*

* Ramsay vol. ii. p. 99. Frost's United States, vol. ii, p. 198.





CHAPTER III.

Expedition to Canada.



SIR GUY CARLETON, the governor of Canada, no sooner heard that the Americans had surprised Ticonderoga and Crown Point, than he planned a scheme for their recovery. The Indians, however, refused to take up the hatchet; and the Canadians declared themselves ready to defend the province, but refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities on their neighbours. Sir Guy then declared martial law, in order to compel the inhabitants to take up arms.*

Congress, fearing for the safety of the colonies, should Canada be left as an open door, by which the British might at any time invade their northern frontier, and counting on the backwardness of the Canadians to engage in a war with them, and the general discontent attendant upon the Quebec act, resolved upon the invasion of that province should it be found practicable. Besides, as it was evident that Britain was as resolutely determined to maintain her authority, and

* Ramsay vol. ii, p. 56.

continue her encroachments, as they were to resist both, and considering the possession of Canada as indispensable to the preservation of their conquests at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, they determined to prosecute the war with vigour, to act on the offensive, and prevent a formidable force from attacking them in the rear, while they were using their utmost endeavours to protect their cities and sea-coasts. The invasion of Canada was therefore resolved upon.

Congress committed the management of their military arrangements, in this northern department to Generals Schuyler and Montgomery. The former issued an address to the inhabitants of Canada, informing them, "that the only views of Congress were, to restore to them those rights, to which every subject of the British empire, of whatever religious sentiments he may be, is entitled; and that, in the execution of these trusts he had received the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty, and sacredly to guard their property."*

The Americans proceeded at once, to make an attack on St. Johns, the nearest British post in Canada, but finding it stronger and better guarded than they expected, they were obliged to fall back to Isle Aux Moix, about twelve miles from St. Johns. At that place, General Schuyler was attacked by a dangerous sickness, which made it necessary for him to retire to Ticonderoga, leaving Montgomery in command of the army. He soon returned and laid siege to St. Johns. Being greatly in want of ammunition, he despatched a detachment of three hundred men to attempt the reduction of Fort Chamblée. Success attended this measure. By its surrender, six tons of gunpowder, upwards of six thousand muskets, and other military stores in abundance were obtained, which enabled Montgomery to press the siege of St. Johns with vigour. Sir Guy Carleton, hastened with eight hundred men to the relief of the besieged; but, in attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, he was defeated by Colonel Warner, who was stationed on the bank with

* Ramsay. Stedman. Frost's United States, vol. ii. p. 184.

three hundred Green Mountain boys, and compelled to return to Montreal. The garrison of St. Johns surrendered unconditionally on the 13th of November, and Montgomery proceeded to Montreal. During the siege of St. Johns, Colonel Ethan Allen, who was returning to the American camp, with about eighty men, from a tour on which he was sent by his General, was surprised near Montreal, and he himself taken prisoner. Though he had surrendered in action, with arms in his hands, under a verbal condition that he should receive good treatment, he was loaded with irons, and sent to England to be tried as a rebel. He was sent back as a prisoner of war to America, and thrown into the provost gaol at New York, where he remained until he was exchanged in May 1778, a witness of the most horrid scenes of oppression and cruelty to the American prisoners, confined at that place.

When the news of the reduction of St. Johns arrived at Montreal, the British forces at that place repaired for safety to the shipping, in the hope of escaping down the river. They were prevented. General Prescott, with several officers and one hundred and twenty privates, became the prisoners of the provincial General. Eleven sail of vessels, with all their contents, consisting of ammunition, provisions and intrenching tools were also taken. Montreal, of course, fell into the hands of the Americans, but Governor Carleton escaped to Quebec; whither he was quickly followed by Montgomery.*

About the same time that Canada was thus invaded by the usual route from New York, Colonel Arnold, then with Washington, besieging Boston, volunteered to penetrate into that province by a new route, and surprise Quebec while it was unprepared for resistance. He proposed to sail up the Kennebec river, with a detachment of one thousand five hundred men, and penetrating through the swamps, forests, and hilly land which separate New England from Canada, descend the Chaudiere to the St. Lawrence, unite with Montgomery and surprise the town.

General Washington having testified his approbation of the proposal, Arnold set out on his expedition. Great were the difficulties and dangers he encountered and surmounted with the most astonishing fortitude and perseverance. The Kennebec, being full of rocks and shoals, this gallant detachment was often obliged to carry their boats and rafts on their backs for miles along the shore. Nor when they had traversed the length of the Kennebec were their difficulties diminished. The swampy grounds, added to the fatigues already endured, produced a variety of disorders; provisions began to fail, and a third part of the detachment, on some trivial pretence, deserted with a Colonel at their head. Difficulties, however, seemed only to invigorate Arnold. Neither dispirited by the desertion of a part of his army, nor by the diseases under which many of the remainder laboured, the Colonel left the sick behind him and marched on. Six weeks after his departure from Boston, he arrived at the St. Lawrence, and immediately encamped at a spot called Point Levi, opposite Quebec.*

The consternation occasioned by his unexpected arrival, and by the intrepidity of the achievement, was universal; and had not the boats been removed before his approach, he would doubtless have made himself master of the capital of the Canadas. The bold enterprise of one American army, marching through the wilderness, at a time when success was crowning every undertaking of another, invading in a different direction, struck terror into the breasts of those Canadians, who were unfriendly to the designs of Congress. In a few days, Colonel Arnold crossed the St. Lawrence; but his chance of succeeding by a *coup de main* was, in that short space, greatly diminished. The critical moment was past. The garrison had been reinforced by the arrival of Colonel Maclean, and by the embodying of the inhabitants for their common defence. As Colonel Arnold had no artillery, after parading some days on the heights near Quebec, he drew off his troops, and determined to employ

* Stedman vol. i, p. 137, 138.

himself, until the arrival of Montgomery, in cutting off all supplies to the garrison.

Montgomery arrived before Quebec on the 5th of December. He immediately summoned the city to surrender but his summons was treated with contempt. The Americans then commenced a bombardment with some small mortars and a six-gun battery. Montgomery and Arnold were now in a most critical situation for want of proper artillery; for as they had none heavier than twelve pounders, they soon saw the impossibility of making any impression on the fortifications of Quebec. From the Canadian malcontents they had nothing more to expect, because they had thought it more prudent to unite with the British for the preservation of their own property. Winter was approaching fast, and to consume it on the plains of Canada was a prospect most dreary and unpromising: yet, on the other hand, it was essentially necessary that the first campaign should be closed with a brilliancy that should prevent the public ardour from experiencing any diminution.

Thus situated, it was resolved to storm the city. General Montgomery divided his small army, (in all but 800 men) into four detachments and ordered two feints to be made against the upper town, while he and Arnold should at the same time make two real attacks on the lower town. The attacks were to be begun at day-break on the morning of the 31st of December, 1775, and the firing of rockets was to be the signal. By some mistake, however, the attacks on the upper town were commenced first, and the English discovering their real character, left only a slight force to defend it and conveyed the greater part of their strength to the lower town, where they supposed the real attacks were to be made.*

At five o'clock in the morning General Montgomery advanced against the lower town. He led his men to the attack with that coolness and intrepidity which never forsook him, and he soon drove the enemy from the first barrier. One of the Canadians, in retiring, applied a match to a gun and fired it without stopping to take aim. This shot was fatal. By it

* Ramsay 69.

the Americans lost the brave Montgomery, Captain M'Pherson, Captain Cheeseman, and two others. The assailants, thus deprived of their gallant leader, paused a moment, but did not retreat. They marched on to the attack with firmness, and for half an hour sustained a most galling discharge of cannon and musketry. Finding then, that their attempts could not be attended with success, Colonel Campbell, on whom the command had devolved, thought proper to draw them off.

In the meantime, Arnold, at the head of three hundred and fifty men, assailed the town on the other side. He attacked and carried without considerable loss, the first barrier. Early in the action, he received a wound in the leg, which made it necessary to carry him off the field; but Colonel Morgan, the next in command continued the attack with unabated vigour. He pushed on, and soon made himself master of a second barrier; but Montgomery's detachment having retreated, the whole force of the garrison was brought to bear against Morgan. For three hours, those brave men sustained the attack of immensely superior numbers; but, finding themselves hemmed in, without hopes, either of success, relief or retreat, they yielded themselves prisoners of war.

Colonel Arnold, though thus disappointed in his endeavours, resolved not to withdraw from the province. He still remained encamped on the heights of Abraham, whence he could intercept any supplies that might be attempted to be conveyed into the city.*

Such was the issue of the campaign of 1775 in Canada. Though it was finally unsuccessful, yet the advantages which the Americans gained in September and October, gave fresh spirits to their army and people. The boldness of the enterprise might have taught Great Britain the folly of persisting in the design of subduing America. But instead of preserving the union, and restoring the peace of the empire, by repealing a few of her laws, she, from mistaken dignity, resolved on a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

* Stedman. Ramsay 71.



CHAPTER IV.

Campaign of 1776.



OLONEL ARNOLD remained during the winter, encamped before Quebec. Though unable to capture the town, he reduced it to great distress, by cutting off all communications between the inhabitants and the adjacent country. But the season now approaching when reinforcements might be expected to arrive from England, he recommenced the siege in due form. Batteries were erected on the shores of the St. Lawrence, to burn the shipping, and Arnold prepared scaling ladders to storm the town. The Americans gained the suburbs, where they set fire to several houses and obliged the garrison to pull down the others to prevent the fire from spreading. They could penetrate no farther, and were compelled to withdraw, with very little loss. While the Ameri-

cans were engaged in this siege, the small pox broke out among them with great violence. The soldiers inoculated themselves, though their officers issued positive orders to the contrary. In March and April, reinforcements arrived at the American camp from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania; so that, on the first of May, the army, in name, amounted to two thousand men; but, from the prevalence of the small pox, there were only nine hundred fit for duty. On this account, and certain that succour would soon arrive from England, General Thomas, who had just arrived to command the army, resolved to retire towards Montreal. The next morning, some British ships by great exertions, and with much danger, pressed through the ice, and landed some troops. General Carleton, thus reinforced, sallied out on the Americans, who fled with great precipitation, leaving behind them their artillery and military stores. In this manner, at the expiration of five months, the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec was raised. The prisoners taken by General Carleton, were treated with the greatest lenity; he not only fed and clothed them, but permitted them when recovered to return home.

The Americans retreated forty-five miles before they stopped. After a short halt, they proceeded to the Sorrel, at which place, they threw up some slight works for their safety. They were there joined by some battalions coming to reinforce them. About this time, General Thomas was seized with the small-pox, and died; the command devolving at first on Arnold, and afterwards on General Sullivan. It soon became evident, that the Americans must abandon the whole province of Canada.*

On the 19th of May, the British attacked and took the American post called the Cedars, on the St. Lawrence, forty miles above Montreal. The Americans made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise a detachment of the British army, encamped at Three Rivers; and, on the 15th of June, they quitted Canada, and retreated to Crown Point, and

* Ramsay.

thence to Ticonderoga. In October, the British succeeded in obtaining the command of Lake Champlain, by causing the destruction of the American flotilla, and, on the 15th of that month, they took possession of Crown Point, which had previously been evacuated by the Americans. General Carleton then advanced with part of his fleet and army, and reconnoitered the works of the fort at Ticonderoga, which Generals Gates and Schuyler had determined to defend to the last extremity. The apparent strength of the works, however, prevented him from attempting its reduction, and the winter coming on, induced him to return to Canada.*

In the meantime, the British troops blockaded in Boston suffered incredible hardships and fatigue. They had been closely invested ever since the affair of Lexington; provisions were scarce; and though they sent to the West Indies for a fresh supply, they could obtain none, on account of the great dearth existing in that quarter. General Washington, also began to prosecute the siege with more vigour, in order that he might capture the place before the arrival of reinforcements from Great Britain. His army now amounting to fourteen thousand men, he resolved to take possession of, and fortify Dorchester Heights. To conceal this design, and to distract the attention of the garrison, a bombardment of the town from other directions was commenced on the 2d of March, and was carried on for three days, with as much briskness as a deficient stock of powder would admit. On the night of the 4th, General Thomas, with about two thousand men, silently took possession of the Heights, and with the aid of fascines and hay in bundles, completed lines of defence, before the morning, which astonished the garrison. From these works, such a furious discharge of cannon and bombs was immediately commenced on the British shipping in the harbour, that the Admiral informed General Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these Heights, he would not be able to keep one of his Majesty's ships in the harbour. It was, therefore, in a council of war,

* Stedman. Ramsay. Frost's United States.

determined to dislodge the Americans, and Howe despatched some troops in transports to commence the attack ; but, a furious storm coming on, scattered them, and they returned. Besides, Dorchester Heights, now, could not fail to remind the British of Bunker's Hill ; and the Americans had prepared hogsheads chained together in great numbers, and filled with stones, to roll down upon them as they marched up. This expedient, would effectually have destroyed all order, and whole columns would have been swept off at once. General Howe, therefore, determined to evacuate the city. A fortnight afterwards, this measure was effected ; and, at ten on the morning of the 17th of March, the British troops, amounting to more than seven thousand men, sailed from Boston ; leaving their barracks standing ; a number of pieces of cannon spiked ; four large iron sea-mortars ; and stores to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Washington immediately took possession of the capital of Massachusetts. Fearing that the British fleet would proceed to New York, he detached several regiments to the defence of that place ; and soon after followed them with the remainder of the army.*

As some months would still elapse, before the British could assemble their troops, and open the general campaign in the north, they determined to send an expedition immediately against the southern states, where the climate could oppose no obstacle and a decisive blow, it was thought, might be struck with a small army. The Americans obtained intelligence of the designs of the enemy, by the movements of their army, and by means of an intercepted letter, which designated Charleston as the place of attack. The people made every exertion to put the place in a respectable posture of defence ; the higher classes labouring with their hands on the works, in company with their servants and slaves. The defences of the town, were greatly strengthened, and a new fort, afterwards called Fort Moultrie, was erected on Sullivan's Island, which is situated near the

* Murray.

channel leading up to the town, and separated by a creek from Long Island. In May, the British fleet, under Sir Peter Parker, arrived, and formed a junction with the land forces under Sir Henry Clinton, at Cape Fear, and, on the 4th of June, the whole force, fleet and army, appeared within half a mile of Charleston. The attack of the fort, however, from various obstacles, was not commenced until the morning of the 28th, between ten and eleven o'clock; when a tremendous fire was opened upon it from the fleet, which comprised two fifty gun ships, and six other vessels, carrying from twenty to thirty guns each. The garrison, consisting of three hundred and seventy five regulars and a few militia, under the command of Colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. They fired deliberately; taking aim, and seldom missing their object. The ships were rendered unmanageable, several of the highest British officers fell, and the Commodore was at one time left alone on his own deck.

General Clinton had been landed with a number of troops on Long Island, and, it was expected that he would have co-operated with Sir Peter Parker, by crossing over the narrow passage between the two islands, and attacking the fort in its unfinished rear: but, the extreme danger to which he would have been exposed, induced him to decline the perilous attempt.

The firing ceased in the evening, and the ships slipped their cables. Before morning they had retired about two miles from the island, having first set on fire one of their frigates, which had run aground. Within a few days more, the troops re-embarked and sailed for New York, having lost in their attack, about two hundred men. The loss of the garrison, was only ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded. The fort, being built of a firm, spongy palmetto wood, was little damaged, the balls having sunk in the walls, without shattering them.*

During this engagement, the inhabitants stood with arms in their hands, at their respective posts, prepared to receive the

* Ramsay. Murray.

enemy whenever they might land. Impressed with high ideas of British prowess and bravery, they were apprehensive that the fort would be either silenced or passed, and that they should be called to immediate action. They were cantoned in the various landing places near Charleston, and their resolution was fixed to meet the invaders at the water's edge, and dispute every inch of ground, trusting the event to Heaven.

The thanks of Congress were given to General Lee, who had been sent on by Congress to take the command in Carolina; and also to Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their good conduct on that memorable day. In compliment to the commanding officer, the fort was from that time, called Fort Moultrie.

This whole affair was most fortunate, adding another to the series of successes gained by the new levies, and inspiring them with fresh courage.

When the British fleet, under Sir Peter Parker first appeared in Charleston bay, the Cherokee Indians, instigated by John Stuart an officer of the crown, treacherously invaded the western frontier of the province, and commenced their horrid system of warfare, murdering the unprotected and spreading ruin and devastation wherever they turned. The repulse and speedy retreat of the British fleet, and the tranquillity which succeeded their unsuccessful attempt on Fort Moultrie, left the Indians exposed to the vengeance of the Americans; who, resolving to prevent them from committing similar outrages in future, carried the war into their own territories. They entered the Indian country, in considerable force, and at different points, from Virginia and Georgia, defeated their warriors, burnt their villages, and destroyed their crops. They were at last compelled to sue for peace in a most submissive manner, and a treaty was made with them, by which they ceded a considerable portion of their land to South Carolina. This expedition so intimidated the Cherokees, that, for several years they attempted no further hostilities.*

* Ramsay. Murray.

During the course of the winter of 1775—6, a momentous design was in active progress, which had a very important issue. Several leading men, particularly in New England, had, from the beginning, extended their views to the entire dissolution of their connexion with Britain. Overpowered, however, by a majority of their own number, and by the force of public opinion, they did not openly acknowledge their designs, but watched the train of events. Down to 1775, the great body of the people seem to have entertained no wish, or even idea, of final separation; though in the course of that year, some partial movements began in its favour. In May, a convention in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, declared for it, but the example was nowhere followed. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, and other royal colonies, being left without a government, authority was given to the people to establish one for themselves, limited to the continuance of the dispute with the mother country. Towards the close of the year, detached parties every where began openly to pronounce for independence; yet the general feeling was still strong against it. This sentiment was forcibly expressed by the assemblies of New York and New Jersey, the latter declaring “their detestation of that horrid measure.” Dr. Franklin, though not openly professing it, circulated articles of union and confederation; but they were coldly received, and not even sanctioned by congress.*

In spring 1776, news was received that their second petition to the king had been rejected; that they had been declared rebels; that large armies were preparing to subdue them; and that their whole commerce was utterly prohibited. Thenceforth a large majority of the leading men formed the determined purpose of asserting independence. The Union, it appeared to them, could never be then restored on any footing, but that of complete subjugation. Doubtless they felt personally, that they themselves would be precipitated from the high place they at present occupied, and become ever after objects of suspicion, or even proscription. A

* Murray.

general desire, accordingly, was now felt to carry out this measure in a decided form, before the expected military force, or the conciliatory commission, should arrive from Great Britain; yet great exertions are admitted to have been necessary, and much difficulty felt, in bringing the body of the people to this conclusion. The press was most actively employed through gazettes, newspapers, and pamphlets. The essays signed *Common Sense*, by Thomas Paine, from their rough and homely shrewdness, were considered to have produced a very powerful effect on the multitude. As a preparative, congress authorized the immediate suppression of royal jurisdiction in all the colonies, and the formation of governments emanating from the people; while they met the prohibition against their trade by throwing it open to the whole world except Britain.*

On the 22d of April, the convention of North Carolina empowered their delegates to concur with the others in the establishment of independence. That of Virginia went farther, instructing theirs to propose it. Boston was now somewhat less forward, merely intimating, if congress should think it necessary, their willing concurrence. Thus supported, Mr. Lee, a Virginian delegate, on the 7th of June 1776, submitted a resolution for dissolving all connexion with Great Britain, and constituting the united colonies free and independent states. It was warmly debated from the 8th to the 10th, when it was carried, by a majority of one. As this was not a footing on which so mighty a change could be placed, the final decision was postponed till the 1st of July; and during the interval, every possible engine was brought to act upon the dissentient colonies. The smaller states were threatened with exclusion from all the benefits and protection which might be derived from the proposed union. As the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Maryland still refused their concurrence, conventions of the people were called, where majorities were at length obtained. Thus, on the 4th of

* Murray.

July, votes from all the colonies had been procured in favour of the measure.

The Declaration of Independence, which had already been carefully prepared, was forthwith emitted; publishing and declaring that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES," and entitled, as such, to carry on war, make peace, form alliances, regulate commerce, and discharge all other sovereign functions.

This Declaration of Independence was immediately circulated throughout the provinces, and proclaimed to the army; and was every where received with demonstrations of joy. Its effect was electrifying. The people felt themselves to be no longer colonists complaining to and petitioning a distant sovereign, with arms in their hands vigorously resisting an authority which they yet owned; but a free people, asserting their independence and repelling the aggressions of a foreign and invading foe. They felt that they were forever separated from Great Britain and her tyrannical rule, and that a new and a great nation had just been born into the world, which would forever reckon its birth from the 4th of July 1776.

There were, at this period, in the United States, four classes of men. The first consisted of those who eagerly desired the independence of their country, and who counting their own lives as nothing in the scale were resolved to obtain its freedom at all hazards.

The second, consisting of the agricultural population, were by far the most numerous, and still remained ardently attached to the mother country. These in great numbers, supported and aided Howe in the states of New York and New Jersey; and Washington, at a later period declares, that the spirit of all Pennsylvania was bad, with the single exception of Philadelphia. In Carolina, a rising early took place in favour of the royalist cause; and at a very advanced period, when the struggle seemed even decided, they openly declared in its favour. These constituted the class of *Tories*,*

There was another class consisting of those who, distant

* Murray vol. ii, p. 13.

from the scene of tumult, lived in ease and abundance on the produce of their fields. It was vain to attempt to enlist them on the side of the new government; they felt themselves perfectly happy, and the British government, represented as so tyrannical, never gave them the slightest annoyance. They saw most reluctantly this peaceful order broken up, and as they thought, by the efforts of a few daring spirits. Yet the British were disappointed when, on the report of these sentiments, they called upon them to rise in arms and join the royal standard. What they desired was, to be left as they were, and have no disturbance on the subject. To exchange their peaceful labours for the hardships and perils of the field, was what they were by no means prepared for. This class during the greater part of the war, remained neutral, taking no active part on either side, and seeming to care little which party triumphed in the end.

There remained still a class, small indeed in number, but which, notwithstanding, acted a prominent part in the great struggle. These were the rude *borderers*, who roved through the unbroken forests, or on the rough slopes of the Alleghany. Engaged here in perpetual contests with wild beasts and wilder men, war, which broke up all the habits and enjoyments of the cultivator, presented theirs under a heightened and more animating form. In the straggling warfare which could alone be waged in those rude and entangled tracts, they were equal or superior to the best trained regular troops. The free and daring habits generated by this mode of life were probably the cause which led most of them to embrace with ardour, the independent cause; and the British, whenever they penetrated deep into the interior, roused this game from its lair, and in conflicting with it, experienced the most signal and formidable disasters.*

In the decisive posture which affairs had now assumed, Washington was actively endeavouring to organize the means of maintaining the hazardous contest upon which he had entered, as well as of resisting the attack that immediately

* Murray.

impended. His most urgent representations to congress upon the necessity of forming a permanent army had been disregarded; and he found himself at the head of a motley group, in which soldiers, enlisted only for a year half elapsed, were mixed with militia whose services were to be still more temporary. In these circumstances, the restraints of discipline extended little beyond the general orders. The different states, having hitherto been almost entirely separated, viewed each other with jealous and even hostile feelings, which were shared by their respective troops, who would, it is said, more cheerfully have fought with their neighbours than with their common enemy. Their leader was soon painfully convinced, that though bodies of people may be inspired with bursts of patriotism, self-interest soon becomes among them the ruling principle. Some of them, availing themselves of the possession of arms, they indulged in predatory practices of the most scandalous nature. In general, however, they were willing to fight, and had shown themselves capable both of forming and defending intrenchments. Washington made it a rule never to spare the spade; many were well skilled in the desultory use of the rifle, yet ill fitted for a field campaign with a large body of regular troops. Even of these ineffective soldiers there were, at the beginning of July 1776, only 17,000; and though they were raised in a few weeks to 27,000, it was mostly by militia, numbers of whom were soon on the sick-list.*

Meantime, General Howe was engaged in conveying his army to the scene of action. The abrupt departure from Boston had considerably deranged his plans, as all the supplies were directed toward that city, and some thus fell into the hands of the Americans. In June, however, the armament set sail; and he himself landed at Sandy Hook, a long promontory forming the northern extremity of New Jersey. He preferred, however, to land the troops on Staten, an island south of Long Island, much smaller, and separated by a narrow channel. On the 3d July, he disembarked

* Murray.

there without opposition, being greeted with warm assurances of welcome and support from the adjacent territories. On the 12th, he was joined by his brother, Lord Howe, who had been appointed commander of the fleet, and also joint commissioner to treat of pacification ; while the ships, with the large reinforcements from Britain, began arriving in successive detachments. As operations were delayed till the whole were assembled, his lordship circulated a proclamation, offering full pardon to all who should return to their duty, and to any port or colony so acting, peace, protection, and free trade. No concession being mentioned as to the original grounds of dispute, Congress considered it so unsatisfactory that they studiously circulated it among the people. Lord Howe, also attempted to open communications with Washington ; but as he did not choose to address him under his title of general, his advances were politely declined.

The British designs had been well concealed, and Washington remained long in anxious doubt, whether the inroad was not to be made on the side of Canada. Considering New York, however, as the most probable and dangerous point, he had been diligently strengthening all its approaches. Having determined also to make a stand for the defence of Long Island, he formed strong lines at Brooklyn, nearly opposite to the city, stationing the flower of his troops along a range of strongly fortified heights in front of the British quarters on Staten Island. Howe, meantime, on pretty solid grounds, and with his characteristic caution, waited till his whole force was mustered, when he could follow up without interruption any success he might obtain. About the middle of August, he had been joined by nearly all the reinforcements from Britain, and also by those from the south under Clinton and Cornwallis, which augmented his force to about 30,000 men. He still, however, waited a few days on account of the intense heat, which, he dreaded, would injure the health of his troops.*

* Murray.

At length, on the 22d August, the British army crossed the channel, and, covered by the guns of the fleet, landed on Long Island, taking post opposite to the range of heights occupied by the Americans.

The Americans, under General Sullivan, to the number of fifteen thousand, were posted on a small peninsula, between Mill Creek, a little above Red Hook on the right, and a bend of the river called Wallabout Bay on the left. They had constructed strong fortifications opposite to New York, from which they were separated by the East river, at that place about a mile wide. In front, they were protected by a line of fortifications stretching from Mill Creek to Wallabout Bay; which had been erected by General Green before his sickness compelled him to resign the command. From this post ten thousand men under General Putnam were detached, to occupy the heights which obliquely intersected the Island, and separated them from the British troops. There were three passes through these hills; one near the narrows, a second on the Flatbush road, and a third on the road leading from Bedford to Flatbush. At each of these, Putnam stationed eight hundred men, a guard fully sufficient to maintain them against any force which might attempt to pass. But there was a fourth road leading around the extreme easterly end of the hills to Jamaica. At this place, a corps of observation only was stationed, consisting of a battalion of rifle-men under the command of Colonel Miles.

Opposite the centre of Putnam's line, stood, in the plain, the village of Flatbush. To this town the Hessians under General De Heister, were advanced with orders to occupy the attention of the Americans by continual skirmishes with their patrols. In the meantime, Sir Henry Clinton and Sir William Howe, having reconnoitered the position of the American forces, saw that it would not be a difficult matter to turn their left flank, and thus oblige them to come to an engagement or to retire under manifest disadvantage. Accordingly, on the night of the 26th of August, the right

wing of the English army, consisting of a strong advanced corps, commanded by General Clinton, and supported by Percy's brigades, moved across the country, by Flat-Land, in order to secure the Jamaica road. They surprised and intercepted Colonel Miles' small corps of observation, and gained the pass without communicating the alarm to the Americans. At nine o'clock in the morning, the British passed the heights and reached Bedford. An attack was immediately commenced on the American left, which being thus surprised, and finding their enemy in their rear, made but a feeble resistance, and retired from the woody ground to their lines, into which they threw themselves in some confusion.

In the meantime, General De Heister, with a column of Hessians from Flatbush, attacked the centre of the Americans, and drove them back on Clinton's column, then immediately in their rear. They were driven back by Clinton on the Hessians. They were thus alternately driven back and intercepted between General Clinton and General De Heister, until at last, though almost surrounded and overpowered by numbers, the most of them succeeded in effecting their escape to the American lines.*

The British left column, led by General Grant, advancing from the narrows by the edge of the bay, in order to divert the attention of the Americans from the principal attack on the right, about midnight, fell in with their advanced guard, which retired before them until they arrived at an advantageous post where their commander Lord Stirling with the remainder of the detachment was stationed; and there they maintained their ground. On the advance of the English, a furious cannonade was commenced on both sides, which was continued with unceasing perseverance till they heard the firing at Bedford. The Americans, in this quarter did not attempt to retire until they received notice of the total route of the rest of the army. Apprehensive then of being unable to regain their lines, Stirling ordered them to retreat by crossing a morass and mill dam which was close

* Stedman vol. i, p. 194.

to the right of the works ; while he with 400 young Maryland gentlemen, in order to draw the attention of the British from their retreating companions, attacked a house above the place where the crossing was to be made, and in which Lord Cornwallis was posted. Stirling was confident of effecting his object, and perhaps of driving Cornwallis from the house. He advanced several times to the charge ; but Cornwallis was strongly reinforced and Grant coming up, made an attack on the rear of the Americans. Stirling, and his brave followers were at length compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war ; but not before their comrades had crossed the creek and escaped.

The loss of the British and Hessians in this engagement was about four hundred and fifty ; while that of the Americans in killed, wounded and missing exceeded one thousand. Brigadier-Generals Lord Stirling, and Woodhull, and Major-General Sullivan, were taken during or after the battle. Colonel Smallwood's regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of the best families in Maryland, sustained a loss of two hundred and fifty-nine men in killed and wounded.*

On the evening of the 27th the victorious army encamped in front of the American works ; and, on the 28th broke ground about five hundred yards from a redoubt on the left of the American lines. The same day, General Mifflin crossed over from New York, and General Washington called a council of war to consult on the measures proper to be taken. It was determined, that the objects in view were in no degree proportioned to the dangers, to which, by continuing on the Island, they would be exposed. Conformably to this opinion, dispositions were made for an immediate retreat. The retreat commenced soon after it was dark on the evening of the 29th, from two points, the upper and lower ferries on East river. At first the wind and tide were both unfavourable to them, and it was feared that it would be impossible to cross on that night. But, about eleven o'clock, the wind shifting, the tide turning, and the sea becoming calmer, the

* Stedman. Ramsay.

boats were enabled to pass. Another remarkable circumstance was, that, over Long Island hung a thick fog, which prevented the British troops from discovering the operations of the Americans; while on the side of New York the atmosphere was perfectly clear. This retreat was effected in thirteen hours, though nine thousand men had to pass over the river, besides field artillery, ammunition, provisions, cattle, horses and carts.

The circumstances of this retreat were particularly glorious to the Americans. They had been driven to the corner of an island, where they were hemmed in within the narrow space of two square miles. In their front was an encampment of upwards of twenty thousand men; in their rear, an arm of the sea, a mile wide, which they could not cross but by several embarkations. Notwithstanding these difficulties, they secured a retreat without the loss of a man. The pickets of the English army arrived only in time to fire upon their rear-guard, already too far removed from the shore to receive any damage.

In about half an hour after the last had crossed, the fog cleared away, and the British entered the works which had just been relinquished.

The unsuccessful termination of the action on the 27th led to consequences more seriously alarming to the Americans, than the loss of their men. Their army was universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies, and their example infected the regular regiments. The loose footing on which the militia came to camp, made it hazardous to exercise over them that discipline, without which, any army is a mob. To restrain one part of an army, while another claimed and exercised the right of doing as they pleased, was no less impracticable than absurd.*

A council of war recommended to act on the defensive, and not to risk the army for the sake of New York. To retreat, subjected the commander-in-chief to reflections painful to bear, and yet impolitic to refute. To stand his ground,

* Ramsay.

and, by suffering himself to be surrounded, to hazard the fate of America on one decisive engagement, was contrary to every rational plan of defending the wide extended states committed to his care. A middle line, between abandoning and defending, was therefore for a short time adopted. The public stores were removed to Dobb's ferry, about 26 miles from New York. Twelve thousand men were ordered to King's Bridge at the northern extremity of New York island, and 4,500 to remain for the defence of the city; while the remainder occupied the intermediate space, with orders, either to support the city, or King's Bridge, as exigencies might require.

Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked. This made it necessary to erect works for the defence of a variety of places, as well as of New York.

General Howe, having prepared every thing for a descent on New York island, began to land his men under cover of five ships of war, between Kipp's bay and Turtle bay. A breast work had been erected in the vicinity, and a party stationed in it to oppose the British, in case of their attempting to land; but on the first appearance of danger, they ran off in confusion. The commander-in-chief came up, and in vain attempted to rally them. Though the British in sight did not exceed sixty, he could not, either by example, intreaty, or authority, prevail on a superior force to stand their ground, and face that inconsiderable number.*

On the day after this shameful flight of part of the American army, a skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and Highlanders, commanded by Brigadier Leslie, and some detachments from the American army, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton of Connecticut, and Major Leitch of Virginia. The colonel was killed, and the major badly wounded. Their men behaved with great bravery, and fairly beat their adversaries from the field. Most of these were the same men, who had

* Ramsay.

disgraced themselves the day before, by running away. Struck with a sense of shame for their late misbehaviour, they had offered themselves as volunteers, and requested the commander-in-chief to give them an opportunity to retrieve their honour. Their good conduct, at this second engagement, proved an antidote to the poison of their example on the preceding day. It demonstrated that the Americans only wanted resolution and good officers, to be on a footing with the British ; and inspired them with hopes, that a little more experience would enable them to assume, not only the name and garb, but the spirit and firmness of soldiers.

The Americans, having evacuated the city of New York, a brigade of the British army marched into it. They had been only a few days in possession, when a dreadful fire broke out, and consumed about a thousand houses. Dry weather, and a brisk wind, spread the flames to such an extent, that, had it not been for great exertions of the troops and sailors, the whole city must have shared the same fate. After the Americans had evacuated New York, they retired to the north end of the island, on which that city is erected.

In about four weeks, General Howe began to execute a plan for cutting off General Washington's communication with the eastern states, and enclosing him so as to compel a general engagement on the island. With this view, the greater part of the royal army passed through Hellgate, entered the sound, and landed on Frog's neck, in West Chester county.

Two days after they made this movement, General Lee arrived from his late successful command to the southward. He found that there was a prevailing disposition among the officers in the American army for remaining on New York island. A council of war was called, in which General Lee gave such convincing reasons for quitting it, that they resolved immediately to withdraw the bulk of the army ; an exception however was made in favour of Fort Washington, and 3000 men were assigned for its defence.*

* Ramsay.

The royal army, after a halt of six days, at Frog's Neck, advanced near to New Rochelle. On their march they sustained a considerable loss by a party of Americans, whom General Lee posted behind a wall. After three days, General Howe moved the right and centre of his army, two miles to the northward of New Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains: there he received a large reinforcement.

General Washington, while retreating from New York island, was careful to make a front towards the British, from East Chester, almost to White Plains, in order to secure the march of those who were behind, and to defend the removal of the sick, the cannon, and stores of his army. In this manner his troops made a line of small detached and intrenched camps, on the several heights and strong grounds from Valentine's hill, on the right, to the vicinity of the White Plains, on the left.

The royal army moved in two columns, and took a position with the Brunx in front; upon which the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains, behind intrenchments. A general action was hourly expected, and a considerable one took place, in which several hundreds fell. The Americans were commanded by General M'Dougal, and the British by General Leslie. While they were engaged, the American baggage was moved off, in full view of the British army. Soon after this, General Washington changed his front, his left wing stood fast, and his right fell back to some hills. In this position, which was an admirable one in a military point of view, he both desired and expected an action; but General Howe declined it, and drew off his forces towards Dobb's ferry. The Americans afterwards retired to North Castle; and soon after, General Washington, with a part of his army, crossed the North River, and took post in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee. A force of about 7500 men was left at North Castle, under General Lee.*

The Americans having retired, Sir William Howe determined to improve the opportunity of their absence, for the

* Ramsay.

reduction of Fort Washington. This he soon accomplished, and the garrison surrendered on terms of capitulation, by which the men were to be considered as prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side arms. The number of the prisoners amounted to 2700. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, was about 1200.

Shortly after Fort Washington had surrendered, Lord Cornwallis, with a considerable force, passed over to attack Fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore. The garrison was saved by an immediate evacuation, but at the expense of their artillery and stores. General Washington, about this time, retreated to Newark.

The term for which the American soldiers had engaged to serve, ended in November and December; with no other exception, than that of two companies of artillery, belonging to the state of New York, which were engaged for the war. The army had been organized at the close of the preceding year, on the fallacious idea, that an accommodation would take place within a twelvemonth. Even the flying camp, though instituted after the prospect of that event had vanished, was enlisted only till the first of December, from a presumption that the campaign would terminate by that time.*

When it was expected that the conquerors would retire to winter quarters, they commenced a new plan of operations more alarming than all their previous conquests. The reduction of Fort Washington, the evacuation of Fort Lee, and the diminution of the American army, by the departure of those whose time of service had expired, encouraged the British, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the badness of the roads, to pursue the remaining inconsiderable continental force, with the prospect of annihilating it. By this turn of affairs, the interior country was surprised into confusion, and found an enemy in its very centre, without a sufficient army to oppose it. To retreat was the only expedient left. This having commenced, Lord Cornwallis followed,

and was close in the rear of General Washington, as he retreated successively to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the one army, pulling down bridges was often within sight and shot of the van of the other, building them up.

This retreat into, and through New Jersey, was attended with almost every circumstance that could occasion embarrassment and depression of spirits. It commenced in a few days after the Americans had lost 2700 men in Fort Washington. In fourteen days after that event, the whole flying camp claimed their discharge. This was followed by the almost daily departure of others, whose engagements terminated about the same time. A further disappointment happened to General Washington. Gates had been ordered by congress to send two regiments from Ticonderoga, to reinforce his army. Two Jersey regiments were put under the command of General St. Clair, and forwarded in obedience to this order : but the period for which they were enlisted was expired, and the moment they entered their own state, they went off to a man. A few officers, without a single private, of these two regiments, were all that General St. Clair brought to the aid of the retreating American army. The few, who remained with General Washington, were in a most forlorn condition. They consisted mostly of the troops which had garrisoned Fort Lee, and had been compelled to abandon that post so suddenly, that they commenced their retreat without tents or blankets, and without any utensils to dress their provisions. In this situation they performed a march of about ninety miles, and had the address to prolong it to the space of nineteen days.*

As the retreating Americans marched through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them ; while numbers were daily flocking to the royal army, to make their peace, and obtain protection. They saw on the one side a nu-

* Ramsay.

merous, well-appointed, and full-clad army, dazzling their eyes with the elegance of uniformity; on the other, a few poor fellows, who, from their shabby clothing, were called ragamuffins, fleeing for their safety. Not only the common people changed sides in this gloomy state of public affairs; but some of the leading men in New Jersey and Pennsylvania adopted the same expedient. Among these Mr. Galloway, and the family of the Allens of Philadelphia, were most distinguished. The former, and one of the latter, had been members of congress. In this hour of adversity, they came within the British lines, and surrendered themselves to the conquerors, alleging in justification of their conduct, that though they had joined with their countrymen, in seeking for a redress of grievances in a constitutional way, they had never approved of the measures lately adopted, and were in particular, at all times, averse to independence.*

On the day General Washington retreated over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island, without any loss, and at the same time blocked up Commodore Hopkin's squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquishing its General; the people giving up the cause; some of their leaders going over to the enemy; and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprise, General Lee was taken prisoner at Baskenridge, by Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt. This caused a depression of spirit among the Americans, far exceeding any real injury done to their essential interests. He had been repeatedly ordered to come forward with his division, and join General Washington; but these orders were not obeyed. This circumstance, and the dangerous crisis of public affairs, together with his being alone, at some distance from the troops which he commanded, begat suspicions that he chose to fall into the hands of the British. Though these apprehensions were without foundation, they produced the same extensive mischief, as if they had been realities. The Americans had reposed

* Ramsay.

extravagant confidence in his military talents, and experience of regular European war. Merely to have lost such an idol of the states, at any time, would have been distressing; but losing him under circumstances, which favoured an opinion that, despairing of the American cause, he chose to be taken prisoner, was to many an extinguishment of every hope.

At this critical moment, the royal army in complete possession of New Jersey, and the republican troops exhausted, dispirited, retreating, and numbering only five or six thousand men, the greater part of whom would be entitled to their discharge at the end of the year, Washington formed the bold resolution, before that time should arrive, to cross the Delaware, and hazard an engagement with the enemy.

Congress, seeing the dangerous situation to which every thing dear to the friends of independence was reduced, had entrusted extraordinary powers to Washington. He was empowered to raise first eighty-eight, and then sixteen more regular battalions; to give higher bounties and pay; and to act, in other respects for six months as a military dictator. The men, however, were not yet raised, and present circumstances were little calculated to invite them into the service.

Under these circumstances, to turn round and face a victorious and numerous foe, with his inconsiderable force, was risking much; but the urgency of the case required that something should be attempted, and Washington determined to recross the Delaware and attack that part of the enemy which was stationed at Trenton.

When the Americans retreated over the Delaware, the boats in the vicinity were removed out of the way of their pursuers; this arrested their progress: but the British commanders, in the security of conquest, cantoned their army in Burlington, Bordentown, Trenton, and other towns of New Jersey, in daily expectation of being enabled to cross into Pennsylvania, by means of ice, which is generally formed about that time.*

* Ramsay. Murray.

In the evening of Christmas day, General Washington made arrangements for re-crossing the Delaware in three divisions ; at M'Konkey's ferry ; at Trenton ferry ; and at or near Bordentown. The troops which were to have crossed at the two last places, were commanded by Generals Ewing and Cadwalader, who made every exertion to get over : but the quantity of ice was so great, that they could not effect their purpose. The main body which was commanded by General Washington, crossed at M'Konkey's ferry : but the ice in the river retarded its passage so long, that it was three o'clock in the morning, before the artillery could be gotten over. On landing in Jersey, it was formed into two divisions, commanded by Generals Sullivan and Greene, who had under their command Brigadiers Lord Stirling, Mercer and St. Clair. One of the divisions was ordered to proceed on the lower, or river road, the other on the upper, or Pennington road. Colonel Stark, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town which is beyond the bridge. The divisions having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered, immediately on forcing the out guards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though they marched different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post, within three minutes of each other. The out guards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back ; but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body, being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton : but they were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding themselves surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted was 23 officers and 886 men. Between 30 and 40 of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rahl was among the former, and several of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans, were wounded. Two were killed,



and two or three were frozen to death. The detachment in Trenton consisted of the regiments of Rahl, Losberg, and Kniphausen, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, and a troop of British light horse. All these were killed or captured, except about 600, who escaped by the road leading to Bordentown.

The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington, therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to re-cross into Pennsylvania, with his prisoners.

The effects of this successful enterprise were speedily felt in recruiting the American army. About 1400 regular soldiers, whose time of service was on the point of expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, on a promised gratuity of ten paper dollars to each. Men of influence were sent to different parts of the country to rouse the militia. The rapine and impolitic conduct of the British operated more forcibly on the inhabitants, to expel them from the state, than either patriotism or persuasion to prevent their overrunning it.*

The Hessian prisoners taken on the 26th, being secured, General Washington re-crossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. The detachments, which had been distributed over New Jersey, previous to the capture of the Hessians, immediately after that event, assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick, under Lord Cornwallis. From this position, on the 2nd of January, 1777, they proceeded towards Trenton in great force, hoping by a vigorous onset to repair the injury their cause had sustained by the late defeat. Truly delicate was the situation of the feeble American army. To retreat was to hazard the city of Philadelphia, and to destroy every ray of hope which had begun to dawn from their late success. To risk an action, with a superior force in front, and a river in rear, was dangerous in the extreme. To get round the advanced party

of the British, and, by pushing forward, to attack in their rear, was deemed preferable to either. The British, on their advance from Princeton, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon attacked a body of Americans posted with four field pieces, a little to the northward of Trenton, and compelled them to retreat. The pursuing British, being checked, at the bridge over Assumpinck creek, which runs through that town, by some field pieces, posted on the opposite banks of that rivulet, fell back so far as to be out of reach of the cannon, and kindled their fires.

The Americans were drawn up on the other side of the creek, and in that position remained till night, cannonading the enemy and receiving their fire. In this critical hour, two armies, on which the success or failure of the American revolution materially depended, were crowded into the small village of Trenton, and only separated by a creek, in many places fordable. The British, believing they had all the advantages they could wish for, and that they could use them when they pleased, discontinued all further operations, and kept themselves in readiness to make the attack next morning.*

Daylight presented a scene as brilliant on the one side, as it was unexpected on the other. Soon after it became dark, general Washington ordered all his baggage to be silently removed, and having left guards for the purpose of deception, marched with his whole force, by a circuitous route, to Princeton. This manœuvre was determined upon in a council of war, from a conviction that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat, and at the same time the hazard of an action in a bad position; and that it was the most likely way to preserve the city of Philadelphia, from falling into the hands of the British. General Washington also presumed, that from an eagerness to efface the impressions, made by the late capture of the Hessians at Trenton, the British commanders had pushed forward their principal force, and that of course the remainder in the rear at Princeton was not more

* Ramsay.

than equal to his own. The event verified this conjecture. The more effectually to disguise the departure of the Americans from Trenton, fires were lighted up in front of their camp. These not only gave an appearance of going to rest, but, as flame cannot be seen through, concealed from the British what was transacting behind them. In this relative position they were a pillar of fire to one army, and a pillar of cloud to the other.

Providence favoured this movement of the Americans. The weather had been for some time so warm and moist, that the ground was soft, and the roads so deep as to be scarcely passable: but the wind suddenly changed to the north-west, and the ground in a short time was frozen so hard, that, when the Americans took up their line of march, they were no more retarded, than if they had been upon a solid pavement.

General Washington reached Princeton, early in the morning, on the 3d of January, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party, which was on their way to Trenton, descried his troops, when they were about two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their unsuspecting fellow-soldiers in their rear. These consisted of three regiments of British infantry, some of the royal artillery with two field pieces, and three troops of light dragoons. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, while on their line of march, was briskly charged by a party of the British, and gave way in disorder. The moment was critical. General Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British; with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand, and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either.*

A party of the British fled into the college, and were there attacked with field pieces which were fired into it. The seat of the muses became for some time the scene of action. The party, which had taken refuge in the college, after receiving

* Ramsay.

a few discharges from the American field pieces, came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

In the course of the engagement, more than a hundred of the British were killed, and about 300 of them taken prisoners. The rest made their escape, some by pushing on towards Trenton, others by returning towards Brunswick. The Americans lost only a few : but Colonels Haslet and Potter, and Captains Neal and Heming of the artillery, were among the slain. General Mercer received three bayonet wounds, of which he died in a short time. He was a Scotchman by birth ; but from principle and affection had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country, with a zeal equal to that of any of its native sons. In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in the public esteem.

While they were fighting in Princeton, the British in Trenton were under arms, and on the point of making an assault on the evacuated camp of the Americans. With so much address had the movement to Princeton been conducted, that though, from the critical situation of the two armies, every ear may be supposed to have been open, and every watchfulness to have been employed, yet General Washington moved completely off the ground, with his whole force, stores, baggage, and artillery, unknown to, and unsuspected by his adversaries. The British in Trenton, were so entirely deceived, that when they heard the report of the artillery at Princeton, though it was in the depth of winter, they supposed it to be thunder.*

So great was the consternation of the British at these unexpected movements, that they instantly evacuated both Trenton and Princeton, and retreated with their whole force to New Brunswick. The American militia collected, and, forming themselves into parties, waylaid their enemies, and cut them off whensoever an opportunity presented. In a few days they overran the Jerseys. General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown, and took near 100 prisoners. Newark

was abandoned: and the late conquerors were forced to leave Woodbridge. The royal troops were confined to Amboy and Brunswick, which held a water communication with New York. Thus, in the short space of a month, that part of Jersey, which lies between New Brunswick and Delaware, was both overrun by the British, and recovered by the Americans. The retreat of the continental army, the timid policy of the Jersey farmers, who chose rather to secure their property by submission, than defend it by resistance, made the British believe their work was done, and that little else remained, but to reap a harvest of plunder as the reward of their labours. Unrestrained by the terrors of civil law, uncontrolled by the severity of discipline, and elated with their success, the soldiers of the royal army, and particularly the Hessians, gave full scope to the selfish and ferocious passions of human nature. A conquered country and submitting inhabitants presented easy plunder, equal to their unbounded rapacity. Infants, children, old men and women, were stripped of their blankets and clothing. Furniture was burnt or otherwise destroyed. Domestic animals were carried off, and the people robbed of their necessary household provisions. These violences were perpetrated on inhabitants who had remained in their houses, and received printed protections, signed by order of the commander-in-chief. It was in vain that they produced these protections as a safeguard. The Hessians could not read them: and the British soldiers thought they were entitled to a share of the booty, equally with their foreign associates.*

The whole country became instantly hostile to the invaders. Sufferers of all parties rose, as one man, to revenge their personal injuries. Those, who, from age or infirmities, were incapable of bearing arms, kept a strict watch on the movements of the royal army, and, from time to time, communicated information to their countrymen in arms.

* Ramsay.

Those who lately declined all military opposition, though called upon by the sacred tie of honour pledged to each other on the Declaration of Independence, cheerfully embodied, when they found submission to be unavailing for the security of their estates. This was not done originally in consequence of the victories of Trenton and Princeton. In the very moment of these actions, or before the news of them had circulated, sundry individuals, not knowing of General Washington's movements, were concerting private insurrections, to revenge themselves on the plunderers. The dispute originated about property, or in other words, about the right of taxation. From the same source, at this time, it received a new and forcible impulse. The farmer, who could not trace the consequences of British taxation, nor of American independence, felt the injuries he sustained from the depredation of licentious troops. The militia of New Jersey, who had hitherto behaved most shamefully, from this time forward redeemed their character, and, throughout a tedious war, performed services with a spirit and discipline, in many respects, equal to that of regular soldiers.*

The victories of Trenton and Princeton seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead, to the desponding friends of independence. A melancholy gloom had, in the first twenty-five days of December, overspread the United States; but, from the memorable era of the 26th of the same month, their prospects began to brighten. The recruiting service, which for some time had been at a stand, was successfully renewed: and hopes were soon indulged, that the commander-in-chief would be enabled to take the field in the spring, with a permanent regular force. General Washington retired to Morristown, that he might afford shelter to his suffering army. The American militia had sundry successful skirmishes with detachments of their adversaries. Within four days after the affair at Princeton, between forty and fifty Waldeckers were killed, wounded, or taken, at Springfield, by an equal

* Ramsay.

number of the same New Jersey militia, which, but a month before, suffered the British to overrun their country without opposition. This enterprise was conducted by Colonel Spencer, whose gallantry, on the occasion, was rewarded with the command of a regiment.

During the winter movements, which have been just related, the soldiers of both armies underwent great hardships ; but the Americans suffered by far the greatest. Many of them were without shoes, though marching over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that each step was marked with blood. There was scarcely a tent in the whole army. The city of Philadelphia had been twice laid under contribution, to provide them with blankets. Officers had been appointed to examine every house, and, after leaving a scanty covering for the family, to bring off the rest, for the use of the troops in the field ; but, notwithstanding these exertions, the quantity procured was far short of decency, much less of comfort.

The officers and soldiers of the American army were about this time inoculated in their cantonment at Morristown. As very few of them had ever had the small pox, the inoculation was nearly universal. The disorder had previously spread among them in the natural way, and proved mortal to many : but after inoculation was introduced, though whole regiments were inoculated in a day, there was little or no mortality from the small pox ; and the disorder was so slight, that, from the beginning to the end of it, there was not a single day in which they could not, and, if called upon, would not have turned out and fought the British.*

Three months, which followed the actions of Trenton and Princeton, passed away without any important military enterprise on either side. Major General Putnam was directed to take post at Princeton, and cover the country in the vicinity. He had only a few hundred troops, though he was no more than eighteen miles distant from the strong garrison of the British at Brunswick. At one period he had fewer

* Ramsay.

men for duty, than he had miles of frontier to guard. The situation of General Washington at Morristown was not more eligible. His force was trifling, when compared with that of the British ; but the enemy, and his own countrymen, believed the contrary. Their deception was cherished, and artfully continued by the specious parade of a considerable army. The American officers took their station in positions of difficult access, and kept up a constant communication with each other. This secured them from insult and surprise. While they covered the country, they harassed the foraging parties of the British, and often attacked them with success.

The campaign of 1776 did not end till it had been protracted into the first month of the year 1777. The British had counted on the complete and speedy reduction of their late colonies : but they found the work more difficult of execution, than was supposed. They wholly failed in their designs on the southern states. In Canada, they recovered what, in the preceding year, they had lost ; drove the Americans out of their borders, and destroyed their fleet on the lakes : but they failed in making their intended impression on the northwestern frontier of the states. They obtained possession of Rhode Island : but the acquisition was of little service ; perhaps was of detriment. For nearly three years, several thousand men stationed thereon, for its security, were lost to every purpose of active co-operation with the royal forces in the field, and the possession of it secured no equivalent advantages. The British completely succeeded against the city of New York, and the adjacent country : but when they pursued their victories into New Jersey, and subdivided their army, the recoiling Americans soon recovered the greatest part of what they had lost.

Sir William Howe, after having nearly reached Philadelphia, was confined to limits so narrow, that the fee simple of all he commanded would not reimburse the expense incurred by its conquest.*

The war, on the part of the Americans, was but barely begun. Hitherto they had engaged with temporary forces, for a redress of grievances: but towards the close of this year they made arrangements for raising a permanent army, to contend with Great Britain for the sovereignty of the country. To have thus far stood their ground, with their new levies, was a matter of great importance. To them delay was victory; and not to be conquered was to conquer.*

* Ramsay.

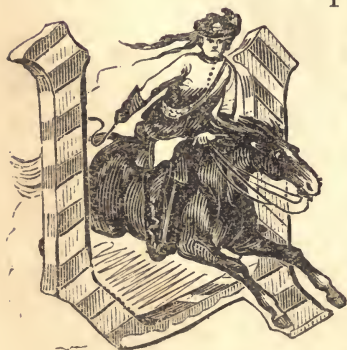


HESSIAN PRISONERS MARCHING FROM TRENTON.



CHAPTER V.

Campaign of 1777.



PON the field just before the commencement of one of those memorable battles which distinguished the reign of Frederick the Great, Prince Leopold of Dessau one of his ablest generals is said to have uttered the following singular prayer. "Heavenly Father! graciously aid me this day: but if thou shouldst not be so disposed, lend not, at least,

thy aid to those scoundrels, the enemy; but passively await

the issue." At the commencement of the campaign of 1777 the Americans had a more lively confidence in the Divine assistance. The signal interpositions of Providence in their favour at the retreat from Long Island and in the victories of Trenton and Princeton had inspired the people with strong hopes of success and the new campaign was commenced with proportionate vigour.

Relying upon the effect of the late successful operations on the minds of the Americans, the Commander-in-chief issued a proclamation, absolving the inhabitants who had taken the oaths of allegiance prescribed by the British commissioners, and promised them protection on condition of their subscribing to a form of oath prescribed by Congress. The effects of this proclamation were almost instantaneous. The whole people of New Jersey rose up against the enemy who had indulged unchecked in plundering their farms and houses, and attached themselves to the service of America. Some joined the army under Washington, others supplied the camp with provisions and fuel, or gave early and accurate notice of the movements of the British. In consequence of their assistance General Washington was enabled to harass the English greatly; and small as his force was, he always posted himself near the camp of the enemy. He was incessantly insulting, surprising and cutting off their pickets and advanced guards. He was firm and undaunted amidst want, inclemency of weather, and difficulty and danger of every kind. Amboy and Brunswick were in a manner besieged. "In this indecisive warfare," says Stedman, "it is supposed that more of the British were sacrificed than would have been lost in an attack on General Washington's whole force, which, at this period, was less than four thousand men, most of them undisciplined and inexperienced."*

It should be remembered that this was all done at a time when the Commander-in-chief was labouring to free his soldiers from their worst enemy by having them inoculated for the small-pox, and this example, being generally followed

* Ramsay

throughout the country, was productive of the most beneficial effects.

Before the royal army took the field, in prosecution of the main business of the campaign, two enterprises for the destruction of American stores were undertaken, in an opposite direction to what proved eventually to be the theatre of the operations of Sir William Howe. The first was conducted by Colonel Bird, the second by major general Tryon. The former landed with about 500 men at Peek's-kill, near 50 miles from New York. General Washington had repeatedly cautioned the commissaries not to suffer large quantities of provisions to be near the water, in such places as were accessible to shipping, but his prudent advice had not been regarded. The few Americans under General M'Dougal who were stationed as a guard at Peek's-kill, on the approach of Colonel Bird, fired the principal storehouses, and retired to a good position, about two or three miles distant. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.*

Major-General Tryon, with a detachment of 2000 men, embarked at New York, and passing through the Sound, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. They advanced through the country without interruption, and arrived in about 20 hours at Danbury. On their approach the few continentals who were in the town withdrew from it. The British began to burn and destroy, but abstained from injuring the property of such as were reputed tories;—18 houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of grain, 1700 tents, and some other articles were lost to the Americans. Generals Wooster, Arnold and Silliman, having hastily collected a few hundred of the inhabitants, made arrangements for interrupting the march of the royal detachment, but the arms of those who came forward on this emergency, were injured by excessive rains, and the men were worn down with a march of 30 miles in the course of a day. Such dispositions were nevertheless made, and such advantageous posts were

* Ramsay.

taken, as enabled them greatly to annoy the invaders when returning to their ships. General Arnold, with about 500 men, by a rapid movement, reached Ridgefield in their front—barricaded the road, kept up a brisk fire upon them, and sustained their attack, till they had made a lodgment on a ledge of rocks on his left. After the British had gained this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at General Arnold, not more than 30 yards distant. His horse was killed, but he escaped. While he was extricating himself from his horse, a soldier advanced to run him through with a bayonet, but he shot him dead with his pistol, and afterwards got off safe. The Americans, in several detached parties, harassed the rear of the British, and from various stands kept up a scattering fire upon them, till they reached their shipping.

The British accomplished the object of the expedition, but it cost them dear.—They had nearly 200 men killed, wounded, or taken. The loss of the Americans was about 20 killed, and 40 wounded. Among the former was Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of respectable character and considerable influence. Colonel Lamb was among the latter. General Wooster, though seventy years old, behaved with the vigour and spirit of youth. While gloriously defending the liberties of his country, he received a mortal wound. Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory, as an acknowledgment of his merit and services. They also resolved, that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to general Arnold, in their name, as a token of their approbation of his gallant conduct.*

Not long after the excursion to Danbury, Colonel Meigs, an enterprising American officer, transported a detachment of about 170 Americans, in whale boats, over the sound, which separates Long Island from Connecticut, and burned several brigs and sloops, belonging to the British, and destroyed a large quantity of forage and other articles, collected for their use in Sagg-Harbor on that island—killed six of their soldiers, and brought off 90 prisoners, without having a single man

* Ramsay.

either killed or wounded. The Colonel and his party returned to Guilford in twenty-five hours from the time of their departure, having in that short space not only completed the object of their expedition, but traversed by land and water, a space not less than 90 miles. Congress ordered an elegant sword to be presented to Colonel Meigs, for his good conduct in this expedition.

As the season advanced, the American army in New Jersey, was reinforced by the successive arrival of recruits, but nevertheless at the opening of the campaign, it amounted only to 8378, of whom nearly 2000 were sick.

Great pains had been taken to recruit the British army with American levies. A commission of Brigadier-General had been conferred on Mr. Oliver Delancey, a loyalist of great influence in New York, and he was authorized to raise three battalions. Every effort had been made, to raise the men, both within and without the British lines, and also from among the American prisoners, but with all these exertions, only 597 were procured. Mr. Courtland Skinner, a loyalist well known in Jersey, was also appointed a brigadier, and authorized to raise five battalions. Great efforts were made to procure recruits for his command, but their whole number amounted only to 517.*

Towards the latter end of May, General Washington quitted his winter encampment at Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. Soon after this movement was effected, the British marched from Brunswick, and extended their van as far as Somerset Court House, but in a few days returned to their former station. This sudden change was probably owing to the unexpected opposition which seemed to be collecting from all quarters, for the Jersey militia turned out in a very spirited manner, to oppose them. Six months before that same army marched through New Jersey, without being fired upon, and even small parties of them had safely patrolled the country, at a distance from their camp; but experience having proved that British

protections were no security for property, the inhabitants generally resolved to try the effects of resistance, in preference to a second submission. A fortunate mistake gave them an opportunity of assembling in great force on this emergency. Signals had been agreed on, and beacons erected on high places, with the view of communicating over the country instantaneous intelligence of the approach of the British. A few hours before the royal army began their march, the signal of alarm, on the foundation of a false report, had been hoisted. The farmers, with arms in their hands, ran to the place of rendezvous from considerable distances. They had set out at least twelve hours before the British, and on their appearance were collected in formidable numbers. Whether Sir William Howe intended to force his way through the country to the Delaware, and afterwards to Philadelphia, or to attack the American army, is uncertain, but whatever was his design, he thought proper suddenly to relinquish it, and fell back to Brunswick. The British army, on their retreat, burned and destroyed the farm houses on the road, nor did they spare those buildings which were dedicated to the service of the Deity.

Sir William Howe, after his retreat to Brunswick, endeavoured to provoke General Washington to an engagement, and left no manœuvre untried, that was calculated to induce him to quit his position. At one time he appeared as if he intended to push on without regarding the army opposed to him. At another he accurately examined the situation of the American encampment, hoping that some unguarded part might be found, on which an attack might be made that would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. General Washington knew the full value of his situation. He had too much penetration to lose it from the circumvention of military manœuvres, and too much temper to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprised it was not the interest of his country, to commit its fortune to a single action.*

* Ramsay.

Sir William Howe suddenly relinquished his position in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British, were pursued by a considerable detachment of the American army, and General Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the support of his advanced parties. The British General immediately marched his army back from Amboy, with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground, but he was disappointed. General Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous position, as compensated for the inferiority of his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling a general engagement on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt passing the Delaware, while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear.*

Sir William Howe, being now sensible that every scheme of bringing the Americans to an engagement would be unattended with success, resolved to retire from the Jerseys. Accordingly, on the 28th of June, he returned with the army to Amboy, and on the succeeding day crossed over to Staten Island. A short cessation of course occurred on each side.

During the continuance of this, a spirited determination was made and executed by Colonel Barton; it was to carry off the commander of the British forces on Rhode Island, General Prescott, and in consequence to procure the enlargement of General Lee, by an exchange of the two generals. The British general's head-quarters were on the west side of the island, near the Narraganset Bay, about a quarter of a mile from the shore. He was guarded by only one sentinel at a time, and his quarters were above a mile from any body of troops. No patrols were posted on the shore, and the general depended solely on a guard-ship that lay in the bay, opposite to his quarters. Colonel Barton being acquainted with these circumstances, set out from Providence, with some officers and soldiers, in two boats, keeping near the island of

* Ramsay.

Providence, till he came to the south end, which was not more than two miles and a half from the general's quarters. Here he remained till dark, when he proceeded across the bay unperceived, and landed about midnight. The sentinel was surprised and properly secured—two other soldiers ran away; the general was taken out of bed, and, without being suffered even to put on his clothes, was hurried on board one of the boats. The boat passed under the stern of the British guard-ship without being perceived, and conveyed the general in safety to Providence. Sir William Howe had hitherto steadily refused to release General Lee on any conditions whatever, but the capture of General Prescott obliged him to relinquish his resolution; and General Lee was, in a short period, restored to the American cause.

On the 5th of July, the British troops, consisting of thirty-six Hessian and British battalions, including light-infantry and grenadiers, a corps called the queen's rangers, and a regiment of light horse, embarked in transports, where both foot and cavalry remained pent up, in the hottest season of the year, in the holds of the vessels, until the twenty-third, when they sailed from Sandy Hook; but meeting with contrary winds, did not arrive at the capes of the Delaware till the thirtieth. At New York were left seventeen battalions, the new provincial corps, and a regiment of light-horse, under the command of General Clinton, and several battalions were stationed on Rhode Island.

Sir William Howe at first attempted to sail up the Delaware, but having received intelligence that the Americans had rendered the navigation of that river difficult, he gave up his original intention, and proceeded to Chesapeake Bay.*

The circumstance of the British fleet putting out to sea, after they had looked into the Delaware, added to the apprehension before entertained, that the whole was a feint calculated to draw the American army farther from the North

* Stedman,

river, so as to prevent their being at hand to oppose a junction between Howe and Burgoyne. Washington therefore fell back to such a middle station, as would enable him, either speedily to return to the North river, or advance to the relief of Philadelphia. The British fleet, after leaving the capes of Delaware, were not heard of for near three weeks, except that they had once or twice been seen near the coast steering southwardly. A council of officers, convened at Neshaminy, near Philadelphia, unanimously gave it as their opinion, that Charleston, in South Carolina, was most probably their object, and that it would be impossible for the army to march in season for its relief. It was therefore concluded to try to repair the loss of Charleston, which was considered as unavoidable, either by attempting something on New York island, or by uniting with the northern army, to give more effectual opposition to Burgoyne. A small change of position, conformably to this new system, took place. The day before the above resolution was adopted, the British fleet entered the Chesapeake. Intelligence thereof, in a few days, reached the American army, and dispelled that mist of uncertainty, in which General Howe's movements had been heretofore enveloped. The American troops were put in motion to meet the British army. Their numbers on paper amounted to 14,000, but their real effective force on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much exceed 8000 men. Every appearance of confidence was assumed by them as they passed through Philadelphia, that the citizens might be intimidated from joining the British. About the same time a number of the principal inhabitants of that city, being suspected of disaffection to the American cause, were taken into custody, and sent to Virginia.*

The winds proved so contrary, as all of the officers acquainted with the climate had predicted, that the British fleet did not enter the Chesapeake till the middle of August. As soon as they arrived in the Bay they proceeded up

* Ramsay.

the Elk, the head of which river they gained in safety on the 24th of August.

As soon as the army was landed, the British General published a proclamation, in which he offered pardon and protection to all who would surrender themselves to the King's troops; and at the same time he assured the inhabitants that the strictest order and discipline should be preserved by the troops in marching through the country. On the 28th of August the army moved forwards to a village at the head of Elk, where the head-quarters were fixed. On the 3d of September a detachment was moved forwards about five miles; dispersing the advanced guards of the Americans, and taking post on Iron Hill, a place that commanded a view of the Delaware. Generals Grant and Kniphausen having joined General Howe with the troops under their command on the 8th of September, the whole army moved onwards in two columns on the route to Philadelphia. After they had proceeded about thirteen miles they halted, on receiving intelligence of the motions of the American army.

On the 11th of September the British army moved forwards; the Americans, retiring before them to the other side of the Brandywine river, where they halted, and posted themselves on strong ground under cover of woods with intervals of open ground between them. The advanced corps was stationed at Red Clay Creek. The Brandywine runs into the Delaware at Wilmington, and it was necessary for the British army to pass over it in their route to Philadelphia. Washington therefore secured, and resolved to defend, the principal fords.

At Chadd's Ford, the spot where it was judged most probable that the royal army would make an attempt, batteries were erected on the banks of the rivulet, with intrenchments that commanded the pass.*

While the Americans were occupied at Chadd's Ford, Lord Cornwallis, with one column of the English army, con-

* Stedman.

sisting of two battalions of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, the Hessian grenadiers, part of the seventy-first regiment, and two British brigades, made a circuit of seventeen miles, and crossed the forks of the Brandywine on the 13th of September, with an intention of gaining the American rear. At the same time General Kniphausen, with the second division, consisting of two British brigades, the Hessians, and Wemys's corps of rangers, marched in a direct line to Chadd's Ford; and attacked a detached body under Maxwell that had crossed the river, and were posted on the south side of it. After some resistance, Maxwell was forced to repass the Brandywine under cover of the American batteries.*

General Washington remained in uncertainty respecting the movements of the enemy, until about two o'clock in the afternoon, when he immediately made such a change in his dispositions as was deemed necessary. Wayne and Maxwell were stationed at Chadd's Ford to keep Kniphausen in check. Washington and Greene commanded the centre as a reserve, whilst Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephen were advanced up the Brandywine to confront Cornwallis. This last division took strong and advantageous ground, but Sullivan's troops were scarcely formed at half past four, when the action began. The engagement was very warm and maintained for some time, when the American right began to give way, and exposed the flanks of the remaining divisions to such a galling fire that the line soon became completely routed. The flight became general before Washington and Greene could come to the support of the wing. Colonel Stevens' regiment of Virginians, and Stewart's Pennsylvanians covered the retreat so effectually as to cause Sir William Howe to give over the pursuit. Whilst the American right wing was engaged, Kniphausen crossed the Brandywine at Chadd's Ford, and with much loss succeeded in forcing the works, which were defended by three field pieces and a howitzer. Learning that the right wing

* Stedman.

had been defeated, the left then withdrew, and the whole army retired to Chester, whence it marched next day to Philadelphia.*

The American loss amounted to three hundred killed, four hundred prisoners, most of whom were among the wounded, of which there were about six hundred. The British acknowledged a loss of one hundred killed, and four hundred wounded. In this action, the Marquis Lafayette and General Woodford were wounded. The former was a French nobleman of high rank, who, animated with the love of liberty, had left his native country, and offered his services to Congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans, with the most disinterested and generous ardour. Having determined to join them, he communicated his intentions to the American commissioners, at Paris. They justly conceived, that a patron of so much importance would be of service to their cause, and encouraged his design. Before he had embarked from France, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced to 2000 men, were fleeing through Jersey before a British force of 30,000. Under these circumstances, the American commissioners at Paris thought it but honest to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprise. It was in vain that they acted so candid a part. His zeal to serve a distressed country, was not abated by her misfortunes. Having embarked in a vessel, which he purchased for the purpose, he arrived in Charleston, early in 1777, and soon after joined the American army. Congress resolved, that "in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions, he should have the rank of Major-General in their army." Independent of the risk he ran as an American officer, he hazarded his large fortune, in consequence of the laws of France, and also the confinement of his person, in case of capture, when on his way to the United States, without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation; for his court had forbidden his

* Marshall.

proceeding to America, and had despatched orders to have him confined in the West Indies, if found in that quarter. This gallant nobleman, who under all these disadvantages had demonstrated his good will to the United States, received a wound in his leg, at the battle of Brandywine, but he nevertheless continued in the field, and exerted himself both by word and example in rallying the Americans. Other foreigners of distinction also shared in the engagement. Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, the same who a few years before had carried off king Stanislaus from his capital, though surrounded with a numerous body of guards, and a Russian army, fought with the Americans at Brandywine. He was a thunderbolt of war, and always sought for the post of danger as the post of honour. Soon after this engagement Congress appointed him commander of horse, with the rank of Brigadier. Monsieur du Coudray, a French officer of high rank, and great abilities, while on his way from Philadelphia to join the American army, about this time was drowned in the river Schuylkill. He rode into a flat-bottomed boat on a spirited mare, whose career he was not able to stop, and she went out at the farther end into the river, with her rider on her back.

The evening after the battle of Brandywine, a party of the British went to Wilmington, and took president M^rKinley prisoner. They also took possession of a shallop, loaded with the most valuable effects of the inhabitants.*

Howe persevered in his scheme of gaining the right flank of the Americans. This was no less steadily pursued on the one side, than avoided on the other. Washington came forward in a few days with a resolution of risking another action. He accordingly advanced as far as the Warren tavern on the Lancaster road. Near that place both armies were on the point of engaging with their whole force, but were prevented by a most violent storm of rain, which continued for a whole day and night. When the rain ceased, the Americans found that their ammunition was almost

* Ramsay.

entirely ruined. They therefore withdrew to a place of safety. Before a proper supply was procured, the British marched from their position near the White Horse tavern, down towards the Swedes' Ford. The Americans again took post in the front; but the British, instead of urging an action, began to march up towards Reading. To save the stores which had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down with a succession of severe duties. There were in his army above a thousand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition. About this time the Americans sustained a considerable loss by a night attack, conducted by General Grey on a detachment of their troops, which was encamped near the Paoli tavern under Wayne. The outposts and pickets were forced without noise, about one o'clock in the morning. The men had scarcely time to turn out, and when they turned out they unfortunately paraded in the light of their fires. This directed the British how and where to proceed. They rushed in upon them and by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet succeeded in killing or wounding over 2000 of the Americans. The enterprise was conducted with so much address, that the loss of the assailants did not exceed eight.

Congress, which after a short residence at Baltimore, had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a second time to consult their safety by flight. They retired at first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown.

The bulk of the British army being left in Germantown, Sir William Howe, with a small part, made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, and was received with the hearty welcome of numerous citizens, who either from conscience, cowardice, interest, or principal, had hitherto separated themselves from the class of active whigs.*

The possession of the largest city in the United States,

* Ramsay.

together with the dispersion of that grand council which had heretofore conducted their public affairs, were reckoned by the short sighted as decisive of their fate. The submission of countries, after the conquest of their capital, had often been a thing of course; but in the great contest for the sovereignty of the United States, the question did not rest with a ruler, or a body of rulers, nor was it to be determined by the possession or loss of any particular place. It was the public mind, the sentiments and opinions of the yeomanry of the country, which were to decide. Though Philadelphia had become the residence of the British army, yet as long as the bulk of the people of the United States were opposed to their government, the country was unsubdued. Indeed it was presumed by the more discerning politicians, that the luxuries of a great city would so far enervate the British troops as to indispose them for those active exertions to which they were prompted, while inconveniently encamped in the open country.

To take off the impression the British success might make in France, to the prejudice of America, Doctor Franklin gave them an ingenious turn, by observing, "that instead of saying Sir William Howe had taken Philadelphia, it would be more proper to say, Philadelphia had taken Sir William Howe."*

The city being now securely in the possession of the British army, Lord Howe turned his attention to removing the obstructions in the Delaware, placed there for the purpose of saving Congress from an attack by the British fleet. Three rows of chevaux-de-frise, composed of immense beams of timber, connected together by bolts, and armed with iron pikes firmly fixed in every direction had been sunk in the river, some distance below the mouth of the Schuylkill. The lower line of these works was defended by a fortification at Billingsport on the Jersey side of the river, and the upper by a fort, furnished with heavy artillery, at a place called Red Bank, on the same side. Works had also

* Ramsay.

been erected on a low marshy island, formed by depositions of mud and sand, whence it received its name of Mud Island. The redoubt on Red Bank, being situated on high and commanding ground, served also as a protection to the water force, which might retire there for safety. This consisted of fourteen gallies mounting heavy cannon, two floating batteries of nine guns each, with a number of armed vessels, fire-ships and rafts.

To remove these obstructions so as to open a communication between the fleet and the army, was an object of the utmost importance, but its accomplishment could only be effected by reducing the forts by which they were defended. Three large batteries were commenced on Province Island, formed by the junction of the Schuylkill with the Delaware, immediately opposite Mud Island. While yet incomplete, they were attacked by two frigates aided by many of the smaller vessels. For some time, the vessels kept up a heavy fire upon the town, but, when the tide fell, the frigate Delaware was left aground, and captured by the enemy, the smaller vessels being compelled to fly to the forts for protection. The British General now had possession of the ferry, and was enabled to intercept the supplies sent to the forts below from 'Trenton.*

But, whilst the enemy were thus engaged in clearing the river, General Washington who had been reinforced at his camp at Skippack, about twenty miles from Philadelphia and sixteen from Germantown, by all the expected troops except the Virginians, formed the plan of surprising the camp of Germantown. He was the more induced to attempt it from the knowledge he had received of the large detachments sent to take possession of Philadelphia, and employed on the river service. At about six o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d of October, the army quitted the encampment at Skippack and commenced a night march for Germantown. Wayne and Sullivan were to attack the left wing of the enemy in front, whilst Armstrong with the Pennsylvania

* Marshall. Stedman.

militia, accompanied by the commander-in-chief in person, attacked it on the rear. Greene and Stephens were to attack the right wing in front, whilst Smallwood fell upon its rear. Stirling's division, together with Nash and Maxwell's brigade, formed a corps de reserve. At dawn of day on the 4th, the troops under Sullivan drove in the picket at the head of the village. The 40th regiment under Colonel Musgrave was next attacked and defeated. That gallant officer throwing himself into a stone house belonging to Mr. Chew, with five companies which he succeeded in preserving entire. From the windows he poured an incessant and galling fire upon the advancing Americans, and by his gallant conduct succeeded for a time in arresting their progress. After making several bloody and ineffectual attempts to take the house by storm, and vainly endeavouring to make an impression on its walls with light artillery, a regiment was left to guard it, and the column moved off to the left.*

Meanwhile, the left wing of the American army had attacked and driven from its position the light infantry which formed the front of the British right wing. Whilst pursuing the flying enemy, Woodford's brigade was arrested by a heavy fire from Chew's house, directed against its right flank. The artillery being brought to play upon the house, caused the advance of the brigade to be retarded, whilst it was too light to render any service. Whilst the two brigades of Stephens' division were thus separated from each other, General Greene had entered the town, broken a part of the British right wing and made a number of prisoners. Hitherto the events of the morning had seemed to promise success, but the troops of the different bodies had necessarily become separated, and a thick fog which had proved advantageous on the commencement of the action, now not only prevented the commander-in-chief from learning the position of the different regiments, but also rendered the troops incapable of distinguishing friend from foe. The number of fences, too, which the army were obliged to cross, and

* Marshall. Stedman.

in many cases to tear up to allow of the passage of the artillery, impeded all their motions, and Washington soon perceived that a retreat was inevitable. The attacks on the flanks and rear appear not to have been made, and the troops in that part of the enemy's camp were left at liberty to meet the right of Sullivan's division, which had penetrated far into the town, whilst his left was detained at Chew's house. The action soon became warm in this quarter, and Greene was prevented from aiding Sullivan with that part of his division which had entered the town, by an attack from the British right, which had by this time recovered from its confusion. This was the sharpest contest of the day, and had the other divisions of the army fulfilled their instructions as accurately as did Greene, there can be no doubt but that victory would have crowned the American banner. But the American right wing now began to retreat, owing, it is said, to the want of ammunition, and the fog breaking, discovered to Greene the troops of Sullivan, retreating in confusion under an attack made by General Grant upon the left of his line, whilst he was engaged in front. Greene was now in great danger of being surrounded, and he slowly retired, covering the retreat of the army without loss. This long and sharp action lasted near two hours and a half, the bayonet being used only on the American left, owing to the nature of the ground. Had there been sufficient light for the Americans to discover the manner in which the enemy had formed, their movements might have been adapted to the occasion, when there could have been no doubt as to the result, and Generals Washington and Greene were both of the opinion that the Americans retreated at the moment when victory was within their grasp. In a letter to Congress, written three days after the battle, the commander-in-chief writes; "It is with much chagrin and mortification I add that every account confirms the opinion I at first entertained, that our troops retreated at the instant when victory was declaring in our favour. The tumult, disorder,

and even despair, which it is said had taken place in the British army, were scarcely paralleled." The artillery was all saved, even to a piece belonging to Greene's column, that had been dismounted; the fact of his coolly ordering it to be placed in a wagon and brought away, is conclusive evidence that the retreat was not hurried. In this battle, the Americans lost about two hundred in killed, three times that number wounded, and about four hundred prisoners. General Nash was killed, and among the wounded was Colonel Matthews, whose regiment of Virginians had penetrated into the centre of the town. The British acknowledged a loss of six hundred in killed and wounded; among the former were Brigadier-General Agnew and Colonel Bird. After the action, the American army marched to Perkiomen Creek, where it was reinforced by fifteen hundred Virginia militia and a state regiment, when Washington again advanced and took post at Skippack. Howe soon after the battle, brought the whole of his army to Philadelphia, where he again turned his attention to the reduction of the forts on the river.*

An attempt was soon made to carry the redoubt and intrenchment at Red Bank by assault. The execution of this enterprise was entrusted to Colonel Donop, a brave and high spirited German officer, who, with three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, the regiment of Mirbach, and the infantry chasseurs, 2000 men in all, passed the Delaware, from Philadelphia, on the 21st of October, and, on the following day in the afternoon, reached the place of his destination. A disposition for the attack was instantly made, and the brave Donop, with undaunted firmness, led on his troops to the assault, through a heavy fire, not only from the works at Red Bank, but from the galleys and floating batteries upon the river. Whilst destruction every instant thinned their ranks, the German battalions advanced to the charge, and forced an extensive outwork, from which the Americans had retired within the redoubt. By this time Donop had fallen, his thigh

* Marshall. Johnson. Stedman.

having been fractured by a musket shot, and the second in command was also wounded. The redoubt was more than eight feet high, with a parapet boarded and frized, and could not be forced without scaling ladders, and for want of them the enemy were obliged precipitately to retire through such a fire as that under which they had advanced, leaving their commander behind them, who died of his wound some few days after, whilst a prisoner in the hands of the Americans who had so bravely defended the post. The Hessians lost in killed and wounded about four hundred men, whilst Colonel Greene of Rhode Island who commanded in the fort lost but 32 men in all.*

But this was not the only misfortune that happened at this time, to the British. It was intended that a part of the fleet, by moving up the river as far as it could go, should make a diversion in favour of the attack by land. For this purpose the *Augusta*, *Roebuck*, *Liverpool*, *Pearl*, and *Merlin* sloop, were ordered to pass through the opening in the lower *chevaux de frize*, and be in readiness. As soon as Donop's attack commenced, these ships slipped their cables and moved slowly up the river with the flood tide; but the natural course of the channel having been altered by the artificial obstructions thrown across it, and sand-banks being collected where there were none before, two of them, the *Augusta* and the *Merlin*, got aground a little below the second line of *chevaux de frize*. At the next tide every exertion was made to get them off, but in vain, the flow of the tide having been prevented from rising to its usual height by a strong northerly wind. It was not until the following morning that the situation of these ships was perceived by the Americans, when they began to fire upon them from their works, gallies, and floating batteries, and sent down several fire-ships with the expectation of destroying them. The fire-ships were towed off by the seamen but, not before the *Augusta* had caught fire, and the flames spreading so rapidly that they could not be got under, it was with the utmost

difficulty that the greatest part of the crew were saved. Several, amongst whom were the second lieutenant, chaplain, and gunner, perished in the flames. It now became necessary to remove with all haste the frigates which lay near the Augusta, that they might not suffer by her explosion; and as the Merlin could not be got off, orders were given to abandon and destroy her.

Congress expressed its high sense of the gallantry of the troops in the forts by voting a sword to Colonel Greene of Rhode Island who commanded in fort Mercer at Red Bank, Colonel Smith of Maryland, who commanded in Fort Mifflin, and to Commodore Hazlewood, of the gallies.

In the mean time the preparations for reducing the fort on Mud Island were going forward on the western shore of the Delaware; but, from the difficulty of constructing works in marshy grounds, and the length of time required for transporting through swamps such heavy stores as were indispensably necessary, the batteries were not opened before the 10th of November. Between the Island and the western shore was a narrow channel of sufficient depth to admit ships of a moderate draught of water. For some days, that part of the fleet which was destined to co-operate in the attack, was prevented by contrary winds from moving up the river; but on the 15th of November, the wind proving favourable, and every thing being in readiness, the Vigilant armed ship, followed by a hulk, both of them mounted with heavy cannon, passed through between Province and Hog Island, and got into the channel behind, so as to bring their guns to bear upon that part of the fort which was least provided with defences. At the same time two of the large ships, the Isis and the Somerset, with the Roebuck, and several frigates, sailed up the main channel of the river, and lay as near the front of the fort as the second line of the chevaux de frize would permit. The ships being thus disposed, a heavy cannonade commenced as well from them as from the batteries on shore, which dismounted several of the guns in the fort, and other-

Stedman.

wise so damaged its defences, that the garrison, fearful of an assault, quitted it the ensuing night, and were carried off by their shipping. Two days after, the redoubt at Red Bank was also abandoned upon the approach of Lord Cornwallis with a detachment sent to reduce it; and the water force, being now no longer protected by the works on shore, quitted its station, and retired up the river. Some of the smaller galleys, by keeping close on the Jersey shore, passed Philadelphia in the night, and escaped. Others were abandoned and burned. And thus a communication by the Delaware was at last opened by the British between the navy and army.

During these transactions on the Delaware, General Greene was sent into the Jerseys for the purpose of meeting and engaging a detachment of 3000 men under Cornwallis, then collecting provisions in the country round Red Bank. Both parties were repeatedly reinforced and alternately offered and refused battle, until finally, Cornwallis put an end to these manœuvres by retiring suddenly to Philadelphia with his stores and baggage, and Greene rejoined the main army.

General Washington, after receiving a reinforcement of four thousand men from the northern army, had left his strong situation at Skippack Creek, now drew nearer to the British lines, and encamped at White Marsh, an advantageous station, about fourteen miles from Philadelphia. A valley and a rivulet were in his front; and to the south and east an abbattis of trees, their top branches pointed and lying outwards.*

Sir William Howe hoped that, in consequence of this reinforcement, Washington might be tempted to risk an engagement in the view of regaining possession of the capital of Pennsylvania. With this expectation he marched with the army from Philadelphia on the 4th of December at night, and on the following morning took post on Chesnut Hill, in front of the right wing of the American encampment. Here the British army remained for two days, of-

* Stedman.

fering battle; but the Americans continued within their lines, except a corps of about one thousand men, which being sent out to skirmish with the light infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, who were posted in front, was repulsed after a sharp contest.

On the 6th at night the enemy was again put in motion, and the following morning took post on Edge Hill, an eminence one mile in front of the American left, which was occupied by a strong corps of northern troops, and from whence they were driven by the van-guard of the army under Lord Cornwallis. The same morning, another outpost was forced by a column of the enemy under Major-General Grey.

During all this time General Washington remained quiet within his lines; and Howe, seeing no prospect of being able to provoke him to an engagement, viewed the right, left, and centre, of his encampment, judging it unadvisable to attack him in his present strong position, returned on the 8th with the army to Philadelphia. It was generally expected that Sir William Howe would have made some farther attempts on General Washington.

General Washington could not believe that General Howe, with a victorious army, and that lately reinforced with four thousand men from New York, should come out of Philadelphia only to return thither again. He therefore presumed that to avoid the disgrace of such a movement, the British commander would, from a sense of military honour, be compelled to attack him, though under great disadvantages. When he found him cautious of engaging and inclining to his left, a daring design was formed, which would have been executed, had the British either continued in their position, or moved a little farther to the left of the American army. This was, to have attempted in the night to surprise Philadelphia. The necessary preparations for this purpose were made, but the retreat of the British prevented its execution.*

Not long after the retreat of the British troops from White

* Stedman. Ramsay.

Marsh, General Washington quitted his camp at that place in the night, crossed the Schuylkill, and took post at Valley Forge, about twenty-six miles distant from Philadelphia.*

Had the American army retired to Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, the nearest towns where they could have been accommodated with winter quarters, a large and fertile district of country would have been left open for the British troops to forage in at pleasure, to prevent which General Washington recommended to his troops to build huts in the woods at their present station, Valley Forge. It is perhaps one of the most striking traits in General Washington's character, that he possessed the faculty of gaining such an ascendancy over his raw and undisciplined followers, most of whom were destitute of proper winter clothing, and otherwise unprovided with necessaries, as to be able to prevail upon so many of them to remain with him, during the winter, in so distressing a situation. With immense labour he raised wooden huts, covered with straw and earth; which formed very uncomfortable quarters. On the east and south an intrenchment was made; the ditch six feet wide and three in depth—the mound not four feet high, very narrow, and such as might easily have been beat down by cannon. Two redoubts were also begun, but never completed. The Schuylkill was on his left, with a bridge across. His rear was mostly covered by an impassable precipice, formed by Valley Creek, having only a narrow passage near the Schuylkill. On the right, his camp was accessible with some difficulty; but the approach on his front was on ground nearly on a level with his camp. It is indeed difficult to give an adequate description of his misery in this situation. His army was destitute of almost every necessary of clothing, nay, almost naked; and very often on short allowance of provisions; an extreme mortality raged in his hospitals, nor had he any of the most proper medicines to relieve the sick. There were perpetual desertions in his camp, and in three months he had not four thousand men, and these by no means to be termed

* Stedman.

effective. Not less than five hundred horses perished from want and severity of the season. He had often not three days provision in his camp, and at times not enough for one day.

The cheerfulness with which the general and his army submitted to spend a severe winter, in such circumstances, rather than leave the country exposed, by retiring farther, demonstrated as well their patriotism as their fixed resolution to suffer every inconvenience, in preference to submission. Thus ended the campaign of 1777.

Though Sir William Howe's army had been crowned with the most brilliant success, having gained two considerable victories, and been equally triumphant in many smaller actions, yet the whole amount of this tide of good fortune was no more than a good winter lodging for his troops in Philadelphia, whilst the men under his command possessed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. Congress, it is true, was compelled to leave the first seat of their deliberations, and the greatest city in the United States exchanged a number of its whig inhabitants for a numerous royal army ; but it is as true that the minds of the Americans were, if possible, more hostile to the claims of Great Britain than ever, and their army had gained as much by discipline and experience, as compensated for its diminution by defeats.

The events of this campaign were adverse to the sanguine hopes which had been entertained of a speedy conquest of the revolted colonies. Repeated proofs had been given, that, though General Washington was very forward to engage when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to action against his judgment. By this mode of conducting the defence of the new formed states, two campaigns had been wasted away, and the work which was originally allotted for one, was still unfinished.*

* Ramsay.



CHAPTER VI.

Northern Campaign of 1777.



T will be necessary now to turn our attention from the south to the north; from the plains of Pennsylvania to those of Canada.

The administration of Great Britain resolved to carry on the war upon the side of Canada and the lakes with activity and energy. The command of this expedition was entrusted to general Burgoyne.

His army consisted of British and German troops, amounting to seven thousand one hundred and seventy-three men, exclusive of the corps of artillery. Of these the Germans amounted to near one half. This body of troops accorded very nearly with the plan submitted to the minister by General Burgoyne. He had required eight thousand regulars, rank and file, exclusive of the artillery, a corps of watermen, two thousand Canadians, including hatchet-men, with a thousand savages.

General Burgoyne was furnished with picked and experienced officers. The most eminent of these were Major-General Philips, Brigadier-Generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton; the Brunswick Major-General Reidesel, and Brigadier-General Specht. This large body of veteran troops was to be kept together as much as possible. In order to produce this effect, the inhabitants of Canada were commanded to furnish men sufficient to occupy the woods on the frontiers, to prevent desertion, to procure intelligence, and to intercept all communication between the Americans and their friends in the province. They were also required to provide men for the completion of the fortifications at Sorel, St. John's, Chamblée, and Isle aux Noix, for the carriage of provisions, artillery, and stores, and for making roads. In addition to this, they were to furnish an adequate quantity of horses and carts.

Colonel St. Leger, with a body of light troops and Indians, amounting to between seven and eight hundred men, having been previously detached by the way of Lake Ontario, and the Mohawk river, in order to make a diversion in favour of the army, General Burgoyne set out from St. John's on the 16th of June 1777.

The British fleet proceeded without any opposition, and, under its protection, the troops were landed about the middle of June, and encamped at a small distance from Crown Point on the north side. The advanced parties of the Americans retired on the approach of the army.

At this place General Burgoyne thought proper to give the Indians a war-feast, and to make a speech to them. The purport of it was, to induce them to refrain from cruelty, and to mitigate their natural ferocity.*

Before the royal army advanced to Ticonderoga General Burgoyne issued a proclamation or manifesto, in which, with a most ill-judged policy, he threatened to punish with the utmost severity, those who refused to attach themselves to the British cause. At the same time he magnified the

* Stedman.

ferocity of the savages, animadverting with peculiar emphasis of diction on the eagerness which they discovered to butcher those who continued hostile to the mother country, whose interests they had espoused. Having remained at Crown Point a few days, in order to rest themselves, and to establish magazines, the whole army proceeded with caution to the investment of Ticonderoga.

Ticonderoga is situated on the western shore, a few miles to the northward of a narrow inlet which unites Lake George to Lake Champlain. Crown Point lies more northward than Ticonderoga, and is situated on an angle of land washed on two sides by water flowing over rocks. A deep morass covered the third side, except in a small part, where formerly the French had erected lines, which still continued, and which the Americans had now strengthened by additional works.*

Opposite to Ticonderoga, on the eastern shore, the Americans had with great industry fortified a high hill called Mount Independence. On the top of it, which is flat, a star fort had been erected, containing extensive barracks well supplied with artillery. The mountain stretched in a sloping direction into the water, strongly entrenched to its base, and well supplied with heavy artillery. Midway up the mountain, another battery was erected to cover the lower works. With infinite labour the Americans had united Ticonderoga and Mount Independence by a strong bridge of communication over the inlet. Twenty-two sunken piers supported the bridge at equal distances. Between the piers floats were placed, fastened together with chains and rivets, and bound to the sunken piers. On the Lake Champlain side of the bridge, a boom, composed of very large timber, was erected, fastened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and a half square. This bridge effectually prevented any attack by water from the northern side. But Ticonderoga, notwithstanding its apparent strength, had one disadvantage to contend with. To the southward of the bridge of com-

* Stedman.

munication was a hill, called Sugar Hill, which overlooked and commanded both the works at Ticonderoga, and on Mount Independence. This place the Americans were unable to fortify, on account of the want of men; General St. Clair, who commanded at Ticonderoga, not having above three thousand men.

The royal army, when they left Crown Point, advanced with the greatest circumspection and prudence on both sides of the Lake, the fleet keeping in the centre till the army had enclosed the fortress on the land side, and the fleet had arrived just out of cannon-shot of their works. On the approach of the British right wing on the second of July, the garrison instantly relinquished and set fire to their works on the side of Lake George. Major-General Philips therefore immediately secured the possession of an important place called Mount Hope, which commanded the American line, and cut off all communication with Lake George.*

The royal army having arrived at Ticonderoga, proceeded with expedition and alacrity to construct works necessary for the investment of that place. By the 5th of July these works were completed, and a road made to the top of Sugar Hill for the construction of a battery there. The garrison, discovering these vigorous operations, thought proper to hold a council of war, in which it was resolved to evacuate Ticonderoga and Mount Independence immediately. In consequence of this determination, their baggage, provisions, and stores, were embarked in two hundred batteaux, and despatched up the South river to Skenesborough. The army took the Castle Town road, in order to reach Skenesborough by land. St. Clair conceived that his retreat would be made without any difficulty, on account of the obstacles which the English must necessarily overcome before they could pursue him. The dawn of the day, on the 6th of July, discovered this unexpected retreat. The British commodore, Lutwych, immediately began to prepare for a pursuit by removing an immense work of framed timber sunk in the water, and by

* Stedman.

cutting away the boom that obstructed the passage, and which had cost, in the completion of it, near twelve month's labour. As soon as these obstructions were removed (which task was effected by nine o'clock in the morning), a brigade of gun-boats, gave chase, and pursued that division of the Americans which was making its retreat by water, overtook them near the falls of Skenesborough, engaged and captured some of their largest galleys, and obliged them to set the others on fire, together with a considerable number of their batteaux.

The grand division of the army under General Burgoyne, in gun-boats, the *Royal George* and *Inflexible*, frigates, approaching the Falls, were saluted by a discharge of cannon from the works at Skenesborough. On this account the general thought proper to return and land his army at South Bay, where part of the batteaux of the Americans had taken refuge. These would certainly have been destroyed if the day had not been too far advanced. Immediately on the landing of the English the garrison evacuated the stockade fort, and other works, to which, as well as to the mills and storehouses, they set fire previous to their departure.*

During these operations by water, Brigadier-General Frazer, at the head of the advanced corps of grenadiers and light infantry, pressed hard upon the rear of that division of the Americans which had taken the route of Hubberton, and which he overtook at five o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July. This division consisted of a large detachment of the best marksmen and chosen troops, under the command of Colonel Warner. They were posted on strong ground, and received the attack of the British from behind breast-works composed of logs and old trees. General Frazer's detachment being about equal in point of number to the troops under Warner; he commenced the engagement, expecting a reinforcement of troops under the German general, Reidesel. The Americans maintained their post with great resolution and bravery. The reinforcements did not arrive so soon as was expected, and victory for a long time

* Stedman.

was doubtful. The arrival however of General Reidesel decided the fate of the day.

The Americans lost in this action the brave Colonel Francis, several other officers, and above two hundred men killed. The same number were taken prisoners; and it is supposed that not less than six hundred wounded died in the woods.*

The loss on the part of the British did not exceed, according to their own account, twenty officers, none, except two majors, of any rank; and about one hundred and twenty men killed and wounded. This, however, is very improbable, as the best informed writers consider it as having been much greater. During this engagement General St. Clair was at Castle Town, about six miles distant from the field of battle. Immediately on receiving intelligence of this defeat, he bent his course to the woods on his left, fearful of being intercepted at Fort Anne; but yet uncertain whether he should proceed to the upper part of the Connecticut, or to Fort Edward. In the meantime a party of the Americans having taken the road by Wood Creek, in order to proceed beyond Fort Anne, after their retreat from Skenesborough, were pursued by Colonel Hill and the ninth regiment, and overtaken near Fort Anne. A warm engagement immediately commenced; but Colonel Hill had posted himself in such a judicious manner, that all attacks in front were ineffectual. A disposition was then made to surround him, which he avoided, by changing his situation in the heat of the action. The engagement still continued, with various success, for three hours, when the Americans were repulsed, and forced to retreat, to Fort Edward, after setting fire to Fort Anne. The artillery lost, by the evacuation of the northern posts, and taken or destroyed in the armed vessels at Skenesborough, amounted to no less than one hundred and twenty-eight pieces, serviceable and unserviceable. The loss of flour, biscuit, pork, and beef, was also very considerable. At Fort Edward, where General Schuyler was joined by

* Stedman.

General St. Clair on the 12th, after a fatiguing march, the whole strength of the Americans did not exceed four thousand four hundred men, including militia. It may not be improper to relate here one of those stratagems in which the genius of the Americans, during the whole course of the war, was remarkably fertile. Schuyler took out of a canteen with a false bottom, a letter from a person in the interest of the provincials to General Sullivan, and prepared an answer to it, drawn up in such a strain as to perplex and distract Burgoyne, and leave him in doubt what course to follow. This letter, which fell, as was intended, into the English General's hands, had the desired effect; for he was completely duped and puzzled by it for several days, and at a loss whether to advance or retreat.*

General Burgoyne, after remaining some time at Skenesborough, left that place, with an intention of taking the road that leads to Hudson's river, and thence to Albany, in order to open a communication with Lake George, on which he had embarked the heavy artillery and baggage. In this undertaking, the difficulties which the royal army had to encounter were infinite. Swamps and morasses were to be passed. Bridges were to be constructed, not only over creeks, but over ravines and gullies. The roads were to be cleared of the forest trees, which had been felled and disposed by Schuyler in such a manner as to intersect each other.

General Schuyler had posted himself, immediately after the affair of Hubberton, as already observed, at Fort Edward. On the advance of the royal army he retreated down Hudson's river to Saratoga, where he issued a proclamation calculated to counteract the effect intended to be produced by the manifesto published by General Burgoyne. The royal army, on account of the numberless difficulties they had to encounter, advanced but slowly; and it was not till the 30th of July that they arrived on Hudson's river. Here their progress was checked for some time, because it was necessary, before they could proceed, that the provisions, stores, and other

* Stedman.

necessaries, which had been brought to Fort George from Ticonderoga, by General Philips, should be embarked.*

The delays which had been occasioned by the route which General Burgoyne thought proper to take, had afforded time for the Americans to recruit their strength. Where the Mohawk falls into Hudson's river, about eight miles from Albany, is an island in the shape of an half moon, called Still Water. On this place General Schuyler, who had assembled about 2700 men at Saratoga, on receiving a reinforcement of men and artillery, under the command of General Arnold, posted his army, in order to check the progress of Colonel St. Leger. That officer, early in June, had been detached from Lashene, six miles from Montreal, by the way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river, in order, to make a diversion in favour of the main army. He had under his command a considerable number of savages, who, in spite of General Burgoyne's address to them, could not be restrained from the commission of several acts of ferocity. General Burgoyne still remained in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, where, on account of the difficulty of bringing the stores from Fort George to Hudson's river, the royal army began to experience great hardships. At this juncture he received intelligence that Colonel St. Leger had advanced up the St. Lawrence, and had commenced his operations against Fort Stanwix or Schuyler, situated on a rising ground at the upper end of the Mohawk river, about three hundred yards from its source. General Burgoyne saw the necessity of co-operating with Colonel St. Leger, and of immediately making a rapid movement forward. But this intention could not be carried into execution under the present circumstances. Ox teams, carriages, and other necessaries, were indispensably necessary; to procure which, Burgoyne resolved to detach a body of troops to Bennington, in Vermont, about twenty-four miles to the eastward of Hudson's river, where stores and provisions were deposited. On this expedition the German

* Stedman.

Colonel Baum was despatched with about 600 men, mostly Germans, including a detachment of Reidesel's dragoons.

Baum advanced as far as Walloon Creek, about seven miles from Bennington, where such intelligence was received as to leave no doubt of a formidable opposition. In consequence of this information he thought proper to halt, and transmit the particulars to General Burgoyne. A detachment of 500 Germans, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, was sent to his assistance. The roads were bad ; nor was the mode in which the Germans marched calculated to promote expedition. They halted ten times in an hour to dress their ranks, which, through the embarrassments attending their march, were liable to be broken at every turn.

General Starke, with a body of one thousand men from New Hampshire, was at this period on his route to join General Schuyler. Having received intelligence, however, of the approach of Colonel Baum, he hastened towards Bennington, where, joining the continental troops under Colonel Warner, he set out on the 16th of August, and, by ten o'clock in the morning, surrounded Baum's detachment. Starke, immediately commenced a furious attack upon him on all sides, but the Germans, though surprised, resolved to make a vigorous defence. For upwards of an hour Baum endured a terrible discharge of musketry, but having lost their artillery, the German troops were under the necessity of retreating into the woods, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the field of battle. Flushed with this victory, the Americans advanced against the detachment under Colonel Breyman, who, ignorant of the defeat of Baum, was advancing to his relief; but the tardiness of their method of marching, added to the obstacles which the roads presented, had retarded their progress in such a manner, that twenty-four hours were spent in marching sixteen miles. The consequence was, that Breyman came up just in time to join the fugitives of Baum's detachment. The Americans began a vigorous

* Stedman.

attack on Breyman, who was obliged to retreat, after a gallant resistance. The loss of the British in these two engagements amounted to about six hundred.

Immediately after the defeat of Colonel Baum, and the retreat of Colonel Breyman, the royal army which had advanced to Saratoga, drew back.*

In the meantime Colonel St. Leger had commenced his attack upon Fort Stanwix or Schuyler, a small square log fort with four bastions and a stockaded covered way, without any other outworks. It was defended by Colonels Gansevoort and Willet, with 700 men. The commencement of the siege was attended with unfavourable circumstances. On the 5th of August, Colonel St. Leger received intelligence that one thousand militia, under the command of General Herkimer, were advancing to the relief of the fort. Sir John Johnson, with a party of regulars, and a number of savages, was despatched into the woods, where he placed his men in ambush. Herkimer advanced incautiously, and fell into the trap that was laid for him. A sudden and unexpected fire was poured in from behind trees and bushes, and the savages rushing from their concealment, made a dreadful slaughter with their spears and tomahawks. The militia, though surprised and somewhat dismayed, did not retreat precipitately, but recovered a rising ground, which enabled them, by a kind of running fight, to preserve about one third of their detachment. The number of killed and wounded on the part of the Americans amounted to near 400. The garrison being informed of the approach of General Herkimer, made a sally under Colonel Willet, which was attended with some success. Having received, however, intelligence of the defeat of the Americans, he and another officer undertook a very perilous expedition. They penetrated in the dead of night through the camp of the besiegers, and traversed a space of fifty miles, through deserts, woods, and morasses, in order to bring relief to the fort. Every proposal for a surrender was treated by Colonel

* Stedman.

Gansevoort with derision and contempt. On the 22nd of August, one of the garrison purposely conveyed himself into the British camp, and declared that he had escaped from the fort at the hazard of his life, in order to inform the British commander that General Arnold, with 2000 men and ten pieces of cannon, was advancing rapidly to raise the siege. He also informed him that General Burgoyne had been defeated, and his army cut to pieces. Colonel St. Leger was not intimidated by this information; nor did he give much credit to it; but it produced an immediate effect on the savages. The British commander called a council of their chiefs, and endeavoured, by the influence of Sir John Johnson and Colonel Butler, to induce them not to withdraw their assistance. Every effort however was ineffectual; a large party of the savages departed while the council was sitting; and the rest threatened to follow their example, unless the British commander would immediately make a retreat. To this mortifying proposition he was under the necessity of acceding. The tents were left standing, and the artillery and stores fell into the possession of the garrison.

With respect to the intimation of General Arnold's approach to the relief of Fort Schuyler, it was in part true. He was advancing up the Mohawk river and had left the main body, and moved rapidly forward with a chosen detachment. He arrived at the fort two days after the siege had been raised. His assistance being now unnecessary, he returned with his army to reinforce General Gates, who had a short time before taken the command of the American army in the north.*

General Burgoyne having by unremitting industry collected about thirty days' provisions, and a bridge of boats being constructed in lieu of the bridge of rafts which had been carried away by incessant rains, the whole army crossed the Hudson on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, with a vast train of artillery. On the 19th of September the army

* Stedman.

advanced to Still Water where a detachment attempted to turn the right wing, and attack Burgoyne in his rear. Being checked in their design by General Frazer, they made a rapid movement, and advanced to attack the British line on the right. The engagement began at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th of September, and continued till after sunset. The troops were led by General Arnold, who distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Both parties behaved with great gallantry and firmness, receiving and returning the heaviest fires with coolness and intrepidity, for the space of four hours. Night closed the battle and the Americans retired.

The loss on each side was nearly equal; 600 being killed and wounded on the part of the British, and about the same number on the side of the Americans. No advantages resulted to the British troops from this encounter. The conduct of the Americans had fully convinced every one that they were able to sustain an attack in open plains with the intrepidity, the spirit, and the coolness of veterans. For four hours they maintained a contest hand to hand; and when they retired, it was not because they were conquered, but because the approach of night made a retreat to their camp absolutely necessary.

The British army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and the next day works were erected within cannon-shot of the American lines, the right being fortified by strong redoubts.

Every possible method was now taken to inform General Clinton of the situation of General Burgoyne, and arguments used that might induce him to make a diversion in his favour. Under the conviction that Clinton would make a diversion in his favour, Burgoyne had crossed the Hudson, and given up all communication with the Lakes. He had expected that a diversion would have been made before this period.*

After the battle of Still Water, the savages discovered a

* Stedman.

disinclination to continue with General Burgoyne. They had been disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and the check which the English had received at Bennington and Fort Schuyler had chilled that ardour and enthusiasm which they had at first manifested. They withdrew their assistance, and deserted General Burgoyne, unmoved by any representations made to them of the distress in which their secession would involve him.

Both armies lay in sight of each other for some time, each fortifying their camp in the strongest manner possible. This delay was extremely prejudicial to the British, inasmuch as it enabled the Americans to increase their number of men, and to obtain stores and provisions from the southern provinces. The only probable means left to Burgoyne of saving himself from destruction lay in a retreat. An expedition was therefore planned by Gates and Arnold, to prevent the adoption of this measure, by cutting off all communication with the Lakes, and by recovering the possession of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence.

This expedition was entrusted to the command of Colonel Brown, who with great secrecy and diligence gained the rear of the royal army undiscovered. He arrived on the 18th of September at the north end of Lake George, where one small sloop and the boats employed in transporting provisions to the British army were surprised and taken, with a number of Canadians and a few seamen. Three companies of the fifty-third regiment were at the same time made prisoners. Immediately after they had secured the possession of the armed vessels, they made an unsuccessful attack upon Ticonderoga with two pieces of cannon, which they had obtained from the captured sloop.*

General Burgoyne's difficulties began now to increase daily. His army was reduced to little more than five thousand men, who were limited to half the usual allowance of provisions. The stock of forage was entirely exhausted, and the horses were perishing for the want of it. In addition to these

* Stedman.

circumstances, no intelligence had yet been received of the approach of General Clinton, or of the diversion which was to be made. Environed by difficulty and danger, Burgoyne resolved to attempt to dislodge the Americans from their posts on the left, which would enable him to retreat to the lakes. Pursuant to this determination he detached a body of fifteen hundred men, which he headed himself, being attended by Generals Philips, Reidesel and Frazer. This detachment had scarce formed, within less than half a mile of the Americans intrenchments, when a furious attack was made by Poor's brigade on the left, where the grenadiers were posted. The enemy was soon obliged to retreat, and would inevitably have been cut to pieces, but for the intervention of the light infantry and another regiment. The whole detachment now retired, with the loss of six pieces of artillery. Scarce had the British troops entered the lines when they were again impetuously attacked by Arnold, who began a furious assault upon their intrenchments. The resistance was firm, and the engagement for a long while doubtful. A wound which Arnold received caused the Americans to retire. In another quarter, however, they were more successful. The intrenchments defended by the German troops under Colonel Breyman were carried sword in hand. The colonel was killed, and his troops retreated, with the loss of all their baggage and artillery. Night closed the dreadful scene. The English lost, this day, General Frazer, Colonel Breyman, and several other officers of note, besides a large number of wounded. The Americans took upwards of 200 officers and privates prisoners; besides nine pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade, with all their equipage. But what was of the greatest consequence, they obtained from the spoils of the field a large supply of ammunition, under a scarcity of which they had long laboured.

General Burgoyne could not continue in his present position without a certainty of destruction. With great secrecy and silence his whole army was therefore removed,

with all their baggage and artillery, to the heights above the hospital during the night. At nine o'clock on the evening of the 8th of October, the British retreated to Saratoga, leaving their sick and wounded behind. General Gates, however, behaved with his wonted humanity, and the unfortunate tenants of the hospital were treated with all imaginable tenderness. General Burgoyne having ordered the roads and the bridges to be broken in their march forward, the movement of the army in their retreat was necessarily tardy. The fords of Fish Kill Creek, which are somewhat to the northward of Saratoga, were not passed till ten o'clock on the succeeding morning. The militia, watching every motion with the most anxious attention, had already arrived at this place before them; but, on the approach of the British troops, they retired over the Hudson, to a larger force, which had been detached there to obstruct the passage of the royal troops.

Surrounded by destruction and dismay, General Burgoyne resolved to attempt a retreat by night to Fort Edward, each soldier carrying his provision on his back; but while the army were preparing to march, intelligence was received that the Americans had already possessed themselves of the road to Fort Edward, and that they were well provided with artillery.

The situation of General Burgoyne had now attained the climax of difficulty and danger. Out of eight thousand men, of which the army consisted after the capture of Ticonderoga, not more than three thousand five hundred fighting men remained, one half of which only were British. Provisions were almost exhausted, and no hope remained of procuring a fresh supply. An engagement was studiously avoided by the Americans, on account of their knowledge of the desperate situation of the British troops; and they were posted in so advantageous a manner that they could not be attacked.*

Burgoyne called a council of war, at which not only field

* Stedman.

officers but every captain was ordered to assist. After some consultation on the emergency of affairs, it was unanimously resolved to enter into a convention with the Americans. Gates' first demand was, that the whole force should ground their arms and become prisoners of war; but after some discussion, he agreed to grant the honours of war, and a free passage to the British on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest.

While General Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the British commander in New York. For this purpose, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition up the Hudson. This consisted of about 3000 men, and was accompanied by a suitable naval force. After making many feints, he landed at Stony Point, and marched over the mountains to Fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, commanded by Governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance. But as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. When it began to grow dark, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither side was great. Governor Clinton, General James Clinton, and most of the officers and men, effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed.*

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North river, but instead of pushing forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans destroyed Fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates, and some other vessels. General Tryon at the same time destroyed a settlement called Continental village, which contained barracks for fifteen hundred men, besides many stores. Sir

* Stedman. Ramsay.

James Wallace with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan with a detachment of land forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. General Vaughan so completely burned *Æsopus*, a fine flourishing village, that not a single house was left standing, though on his approach the Americans had left the town without making any resistance. Charity would lead us to suppose that these devastations were designed to answer military purposes. Their authors might have hoped to divert the attention of General Gates, and thus indirectly relieve General Burgoyne, but if this was intended, the artifice did not take effect. The preservation of property was with the Americans only a secondary object. The capturing of Burgoyne promised such important consequences, that they would not suffer any other consideration to interfere with it. General Gates did not make a single movement that lessened the probability of effecting his grand purpose. He wrote an expostulatory letter to Vaughan, part of which was in the following terms: "Is it thus your king's generals think to make converts to the royal cause? It is no less surprising than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master, have quite a contrary effect. Their cruelty establishes the glorious act of independence upon the broad basis of the resentment of the people." Whether policy or revenge led to this devastation of property is uncertain, but it cannot admit of a doubt that it was far from being the most effectual method of relieving Burgoyne.*

The passage of the North river was made so practicable by the advantages gained on the 6th of October, that Sir Henry Clinton, with his whole force, amounting to 3000 men, might not only have reached Albany, but General Gates' encampment, before the 12th, the day till which Burgoyne had agreed to wait for aid from New York. While the British were doing mischief to individuals without serving the cause of their royal master, it seems as though they might by pushing forward about 136 miles in six days,

* Ramsay.

have brought Gates' army between two fires, at least twenty-four hours before Burgoyne's necessity compelled his submission to articles of capitulation.*

Immediately after the surrender of the troops commanded by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, they were marched to the vicinity of Boston. On their arrival they were quartered in the barracks on Winter and Prospect hills. The general court of Massachusetts passed proper resolutions for procuring suitable accommodations for the prisoners; but from the general unwillingness of the people to oblige them, and from the feebleness of that authority which the republican rulers had at that time over the property of their fellow citizens, it was impossible to provide immediately for so large a number of officers and soldiers, in such a manner as their convenience required, or as from the articles of convention they might reasonably expect. The officers remonstrated to General Burgoyne, that six or seven of them were crowded together in one room, without any regard to their respective ranks, in violation of the 7th article of the convention. General Burgoyne, on the 14th of November forwarded this account to General Gates, and added, "the public faith is broken." This letter being laid before Congress, gave an alarm. It corroborated an apprehension, previously entertained, that the captured troops on their embarkation would make a junction with the British garrisons in America. The declaration of the general, that, "the public faith was broken" while in the power of Congress, was considered by them as destroying the security which they before had in his personal honour, for in every event he might adduce his previous notice to justify his future conduct. They therefore resolved, "That the embarkation of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be postponed, till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress." General Burgoyne explained the intention and construction of the passage

* Ramsay.

objected to in his letter, and pledged himself, that his officers would join with him in signing any instrument that might be thought necessary for confirming the convention, but Congress would not recede from their resolution. They alleged, that it had been often asserted by their adversaries, that "faith was not to be kept with rebels," and that therefore they would be deficient in attention to the interests of their constituents, if they did not require an authentic ratification of the convention by national authority, before they parted with the captured troops. They urged farther, that by the law of nations, a compact broken in one article, was no longer binding in any other. They made a distinction between the suspension and abrogation of the convention, and alleged that ground to suspect an intention to violate it, was a justifying reason for suspending its execution on their part, till it was properly ratified. The desired ratification, if Great Britain was seriously disposed to that measure, might have been obtained in a few months, and Congress uniformly declared themselves willing to carry it into full effect, as soon as they were secured of its observance by proper authority on the other side.

About eight months after, certain royal commissioners, whose official functions shall be hereafter explained, made a requisition respecting these troops—offered to ratify the convention, and required permission for their embarkation. On enquiry it was found, that they had no authority to do any thing in the matter which would be obligatory on Great Britain. Congress therefore resolved, "that no ratification of the convention, which may be tendered in consequence of powers, which only reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it, to the future approbation or disapprobation of the Parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by Congress."*

'Till the capture of Burgoyne the powers of Europe were only spectators of the war between Great Britain and her late

* Ramsay.

colonies, but soon after that event they were drawn in to be parties. In every period of the controversy, the claims of the Americans were patronized by sundry respectable foreigners. The letters, addresses, and other public acts of Congress, were admired by many who had no personal interest in the contest. Liberty is so evidently the undoubted right of mankind, that even they who never possessed it feel the propriety of contending for it, and whenever a people take up arms either to defend or to recover it, they are sure of meeting with encouragement or good wishes from the friends of humanity in every part of the world.

From the operation of these principles, the Americans had the esteem and good wishes of multitudes in all parts of Europe. They were reputed to be ill used, and were represented as a resolute and brave people, determined to resist oppression. Being both pitied and applauded, generous and sympathetic sentiments were excited in their favour. These circumstances would have operated in every case, but in the present, the cause of the Americans was patronized from additional motives. An universal jealousy prevailed against Great Britain. Her navy had long tyrannized over the nations of Europe, and demanded as a matter of right, that the ships of all other powers should strike their sails to her, as mistress of the ocean. From her eagerness to prevent supplies going to her rebellious colonists, as she called the Americans, the vessels of foreign powers had for some time past been subjected to searches and other interruptions, when steering towards America, in a manner that could not but be impatiently borne by independent nations. That pride and insolence which brought on the American war, had long disgusted her neighbours, and made them rejoice at her misfortunes, and especially at the prospect of dismembering her overgrown empire.*

* Ramsay.



CHAPTER VII.

Campaign of 1778.



N Pennsylvania, meantime, the two armies continued viewing each other without any material warlike movement except a few successful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroying property.

In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordentown, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.*

Soon after, an excursion from Newport was made by 500 British and Hessians, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. These having landed in the night,

* Ramsay.

marched next morning in two bodies, the one for Warren, the other for the head of Kickemuet river. They destroyed about 70 flat bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar and plank. They also set fire to the meeting house at Warren, and seven dwelling houses. At Bristol they burned the church and 22 houses. Several other houses were plundered, and women were stripped of their shoe buckles, gold rings, and handkerchiefs.

About the 19th of May 1778, General Washington detached the Marquis de Lafayette to take post with nearly 3000 men upon Barren Hill, a position seven miles advanced from the camp of Valley Forge ; but upon the opposite or eastern side of the river.

On the night of the 20th of May, 5000 of the choicest troops in the British army set out from Philadelphia, marching close to the Delaware, in the opposite direction from Barren Hill. After the detachment had proceeded some miles, it turned to the left, and passing White Marsh soon after day-break, it reached at length its destined point, without having fallen in with any patrol or out-post of the Americans. This point was directly in the rear of Lafayette's position, consequently between him and the camp of General Washington. The road here forked ; one branch led to the camp of Lafayette, at the distance of a mile ; the other went to Matron's Ford across the Schuylkill, at about the same distance. In the course of the night, a strong detachment had marched from Philadelphia along the western branch of the Schuylkill, and stationed themselves at a ford two or three miles in front of Lafayette's right flank, whilst the remainder of the British army advanced to Chesnut Hill.*

The retreat of Lafayette was thus cut off from every passage but Matron's Ford ; and his distance from it was much greater than that of the British. General Grant arrived at his destination about the time Lafayette received notice of his danger by means of the vigilance of Colonel Mac Lane of Delaware, who learned the intended expedition

* Ramsay. Stedman.

from two British grenadiers which he captured in the night near Philadelphia. He rode in person to warn Lafayette; and, at the same time the column was discovered by glasses from the camp of General Washington, who, by the firing of cannon, attempted to give his detachment notice of the danger. Considerable time seems to have been lost by Gray in making a disposition for the intended attack, during which delay Lafayette quickly retreated over Matron's Ford through the low woody grounds which border the river. Information of this circumstance is said to have been given to General Grant, and his superior proximity to Matron's Ford is reported to have been urged to him, and even pointed out in the strongest manner; but under the persuasion that this was only a part of Lafayette's troops, detached for some unaccountable reason, he persisted in his resolution of advancing to Barren Hill, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of Sir William Erskine against that measure. This post was luckily concealed from view by intervening trees, otherwise the desertion of it by the Americans would have been perceived. The British having advanced to the church, and found the camp abandoned, undertook the pursuit of Lafayette by the very track which he himself had taken. In the meantime he had reached the Ford; but his troops, had hurried across the river, leaving behind them the six field pieces which they had brought from the camp on the bank of the river. Lafayette formed his battalions on the other side, and perceiving that the British did not approach by the road in which he feared they would, sent a corps across for his cannon, ordering some small parties to be advanced into the woods to retard the progress of the British advanced guard, should it approach whilst the artillery was in the river. The cannon were dragged over, and the parties of observation retired with the loss of only nine men. The British generals advanced to the Ford, and perceiving that Lafayette was so advantageously posted on the other side of the river, with his artillery on the high and broken grounds which arose from the water's edge, that nothing further could

be attempted against him, returned to the city. Thus failed the object of the expedition.

A French squadron, consisting of 12 ships of the line and four frigates, commanded by Count D'Estaing, sailed from Toulon for America, in about two months after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States and the king of France. After a passage of eighty-seven days, the count arrived at the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great Britain, forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement, but knew nothing of the matter. It had an unfriendly influence on their proposed negotiations, but it was indispensably necessary; for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans besieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either, would have been scarcely possible.*

The royal army passed over the Delaware into New Jersey. General Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached General Maxwell's brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia, in obstructing their progress, till time would be given for his army to overtake them. The British were incumbered with an enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army having, in the pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached under Colonel Morgan, to reinforce General Maxwell. Washington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers in the American army, being asked by the commander-in-chief, "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?" answered in the negative, but recommended a detachment of 1500 men to be immediately sent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded

* Ramsay.

under General Scott. When Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, he determined instead of keeping the direct course towards Staten Island, to draw towards the sea-coast and to push on towards Sandy Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence that Sir Henry was proceeding in that direction towards Monmouth court-house, despatched 1000 men under General Wayne, and sent the Marquis de Lafayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who having been lately exchanged had joined the army, was offered this command, but he declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs in his rear, and his baggage in front. General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent General Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning orders were sent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander-in-chief ordered Colonel Stewart's and Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay's battalions, to form on a piece of ground, which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked if he would command on that ground, to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy, to which he replied, "your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then

rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition. A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and the two battalions which General Washington had halted. These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.*

The check the British received, gave time to make a disposition of the left wing, and second line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed by Lord Sterling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of Lord Sterling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success, for Greene with the artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired and took the position, which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered General Poor to move round upon their right, and General Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach, before it was dark. These remained on the ground which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field to be ready for supporting them. General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day. But these hopes were frustrated: The British troops marched away in the night, in such silence, that General Poor, though

* Ramsay.



he lay very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them, four officers and about forty privates, all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed. Their other wounded were carried off. The British pursued their march without further interruption, and soon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North river. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about 350. Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit, was universally lamented. Colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and Major Dickerson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The uncommon heat of the day was such, that some of the Americans, and 59 of the British, were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable, that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct on the day of action, but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were:—First. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeably to repeated instructions.

Secondly. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat.*

Thirdly. For disrespect to the commander-in-chief in two letters. After a tedious hearing before a court-martial of which Lord Sterling was president, Lee was found guilty and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of one year, but the second charge was softened by the court-martial, who in their award

* Ramsay.

only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary and in some few instances a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this sentence. They argued "that by the tenor of Lee's orders, it was submitted to his discretion, whether to attack or not, and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment. That at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds. That the propriety of an attack considering the superiority of the British cavalry, and the openness of the ground, was very questionable. That though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance, it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by the main body, which was some miles in the rear." If, said they, "Lee's judgment was against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpose, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure." They also agreed that a suspension from command, was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, if really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges. Though there was a diversity of opinions relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander-in-chief. The Americans had formerly idolized General Lee, but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and pronounced him treacherous or deficient in courage, though there was no foundation for either of these suspicions. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.*

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White Plains, a few miles beyond Kingsbridge, and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn, and then the

* Ramsay.

Americans retired to Middle Brook in Jersey, where they built themselves huts in the same manner as they had done at Valley Forge.

The British had but barely completed the removal of their fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia to the harbour and city of New York, when they received intelligence that a French fleet was on the coast of America. This was commanded by Count D'Estaing, and consisted of twelve ships of the line and three frigates. Among the former, one carried 90 guns, another 80, and six 74 guns each. Their first object was the surprise of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arrived too late. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued and appeared off Sandy Hook. American pilots of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went on board his fleet. Among them were persons, whose circumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots. These pilots declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships of the French fleet over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing on that account and by the advice of General Washington, left the Hook and sailed for Newport.

The British had now been in possession of Rhode Island since December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness of the people to co-operate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thousands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts was under the command of General Hancock. The royal troops on the island, having been lately reinforced, were about 6,000. Sullivan's force was about 10,000. Lord Howe reinforced by the fleet under Admiral Byron followed the Count D'Estaing, and came within sight of Rhode Island, the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport. The British fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior with respect to effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of Lord Howe, the French

admiral put out to sea with his whole fleet to engage him. While the two commanders were exerting their naval skill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a strong gale of wind came on which afterwards increased to a tempest, and greatly damaged the ships on both sides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French ships were dismasted. The Languedoc of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, after losing all her masts and her rudder, was attacked by the Renown of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Dawson. The same evening the Preston of 50 guns, fell in with the Tonnant of 80 guns, with only her mainmast standing, and attacked her with spirit, but night put an end to the engagement. Six sail of the French squadron came up in the night, which saved the disabled ships from any farther attack. There was no ship or vessel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries, yet enough to make it necessary for them to return to New York, for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor, on the 20th, near to Rhode Island, but sailed on the 22d, to Boston. Before they sailed, General Greene and the Marquis de Lafayette went on board the Languedoc, to consult on measures proper to be pursued. They urged D'Estaing to return with his fleet into the harbour, but his principal officers were opposed to the measure, and protested against it. He had been instructed to go to Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers insisted on his ceasing to prosecute the expedition against Rhode Island, that he might conform to the orders of their common superiors. Upon the return of Greene and Lafayette, and their reporting the determination of Count D'Estaing, a protest was drawn up and sent to him, which was signed by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, I. Glover, Ezekiel Cornel, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lovell, Jon. Fitconnell. In this they protested against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his Most Christian Majesty, and the interest of his nation, and destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the

United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations.

Whatever were the reasons which induced his adoption of that measure, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied. They complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of the most effective co-operation—that depending thereon, they had risked their lives on an island, where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger—that in this situation, they were first deserted, and afterwards totally abandoned, at a time, when by persevering in the original plan, they had well grounded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds, that the regular army which remained, was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. In these embarrassing circumstances, General Sullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability. He began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th, and retreated from his lines on the night of the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north end of the island—fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The Marquis de Lafayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this Count D’Estaing would not consent, but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and co-operate with the American land forces against Rhode Island.*

Sullivan retreated with great order, but he had not been five hours at the north end of the island, when his troops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued them on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made by two parties and on two roads; to one was opposed Colonel Henry B. Livingston, to the other John Laurens, aid-de-camp to General Washington, and each of them had a command of light troops. In the first instance, these light

* Ramsay.

troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced, they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near 1200 Americans were engaged. The loss on the side of the Americans was 211: that of the British 260.

Lord Howe's fleet, with Sir Henry Clinton and about 4000 troops on board, being seen off the coast, General Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode Island. As the sentries of both armies were within 400 yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the show of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night, and mostly completed by twelve o'clock. Towards the last of it the Marquis de Lafayette returned from Boston. He had rode thither from Rhode Island, a distance of near 70 miles, in seven hours, and returned in six and a half. Anxious to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being out of the way on the day before. He was in time to bring off the pickets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army. This he did in excellent order. Not a man was left behind, nor was the smallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Laurens displayed on this occasion, were excelled by his republican magnanimity, in declining a military commission which was conferred on him by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission of lieutenant-colonel, in testimony of the sense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island on the 29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to Congress a letter, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honour which they were pleased to confer on him, and of the satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing

an evident injustice to his colleagues, in the family of the commander-in-chief. That having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear, to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore entreated Congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of lieutenant-colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour.

With the abortive expedition to Rhode Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign projected by the allies of Congress, for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages, but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of Count D'Estaing. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans, yet their arrival was of great service to the cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds that his Most Christian Majesty, was seriously disposed to support them. The good will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans, and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some censured Count D'Estaing, but while they attempted to console themselves, by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operation.

Sir Henry Clinton finding that the Americans had left Rhode Island, returned to New York ; but directed General Grey to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, where several American privateers resorted. On reaching the place of their destination, the general's party landed, and in a few hours destroyed about 70 sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They also burnt magazines, wharves, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling houses. The buildings

burned in Bedford, were estimated to be worth about 100,000 dollars. The other articles destroyed were worth much more. The royal troops proceeded to Martha's vineyard. There they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, 300 oxen and 2000 sheep, which was complied with.

A similar expedition under the command of Captain Ferguson, was about the same time undertaken against Little Egg Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some salt works. Several of the vessels got off, but all that were found were destroyed. Previous to the embarkation of the British from Egg Harbour to New York, Captain Ferguson with 250 men, surprised and put to death about 50 of a party of the Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

The loss sustained by the British in these several excursions was trifling, but the advantage was considerable, from the supplies they procured, and the check which was given to the American privateers.

One of the most disastrous events which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the surprise and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taapan. The officer who commanded the party which surprised them, was Major-General Grey. He acquired the name of the "No flint general," from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of their bayonets. A party of militia, which had been stationed on the road by which the British advanced, quitted their post, without giving any notice to Colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address, that they cut off a sergeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded

old Taapan without being discovered. They then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment, while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprised dragoons sued for quarter. Unmoved by their supplications, their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated thrusts while objects could be found in which any signs of life appeared. A few escaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored, in a course of time, to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangerously : he lost, in killed, wounded and taken, 67 privates out of 104. About 40 were made prisoners. These were indebted, for their lives, to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers.

In the summer of this year, an expedition was undertaken against East Florida. This was resolved upon, with the double view of protecting the state of Georgia from depredation, and of causing a diversion. General Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about 2000 men, a few hundred of which were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the states of South Carolina and Georgia. They proceeded as far as St. Mary's river, and without any opposition of consequence. At this place, the British had erected a fort, which, in compliment to Tonym, governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of General Howe, they destroyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, retreated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fatal to the Americans than any opposition they experienced from their enemies. Sickness and death raged to such a degree that an immediate retreat became necessary ; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one fourth of their whole number.

Towards the close of the year a new system of carrying on the war was introduced. Hitherto the conquest of the states had been attempted by proceeding from north to south : but

that order was henceforth inverted, and the southern states became the principal theatre on which the British conducted their offensive operations. Georgia being one of the weakest states in the union, and at the same time abounding in provisions, was marked out as the first object of renewed warfare. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, embarked from New York, for Savannah, with a force of about 2000 men, under convoy of some ships of war commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker. To make more sure of success in the enterprise, Major General Prevost who commanded the royal forces in East Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia. The fleet that sailed from New York, in about three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing place a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light infantry moved forward along this causeway. On their advance they received a heavy fire, from a small party under Captain Smith, posted for the purpose of impeding their passage. Captain Cameron was killed, but the British made their way good, and compelled Captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army, consisting of about 600 continentals and a few hundred militia, between the landing place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass in front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome, before the Americans could be dislodged. While Colonel Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro, of a private path through the swamp, on the right of the Americans, which lay in such a situation that the British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, was directed to avail himself of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans and attack the rear. As soon as it was supposed that Baird had cleared his passage, the

British in front of the Americans were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution: their victory was complete. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South Carolina. Agreeably to instructions, General Prevost had marched from East Florida about the same time that the embarkation took place from New York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and success of Colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been issued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition that with their arms they would support the royal government.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell acted with great policy, in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the re-establishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. Georgia, soon after the reduction of its capital, exhibited a singular spectacle. It was the only state of the union, in which after the Declaration of Independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The

moderation and prudence of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell were more successful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders.

The errors of the first years of the war forced on Congress some useful reforms, in the year 1778. The insufficiency of the provision made for the support of the officers of their army, had induced the resignation of between two and three hundred of them, to the great injury of the service. From a conviction of the justice and policy of making commissions valuable, and from respect to the warm, but disinterested recommendations of General Washington, Congress resolved "That half-pay should be allowed to their officers, for the term of seven years, after the expiration of their service." This was afterwards extended to the end of their lives. And finally, that was commuted for full pay, for five years. Resignations were afterwards rare, and the states reaped the benefit of experienced officers continuing in service, till the war was ended.

A system of more regular discipline was introduced into the American army, by the industry, abilities and judicious regulations of Baron de Steuben, a most excellent disciplinarian, who had served under the king of Prussia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers, to discharge the directing and purveying business of the military hospitals, which had been before united in the same hands. Dr. Rush was principally instrumental in effecting this beneficial alteration. Some regulations which had been adopted for limiting the prices of commodities, being found not only impracticable, but injurious, were abolished.

A few detached events, which could not be introduced without interrupting the narrative of the great events of the campaign, shall close this chapter.

In February, Captain James Willing, in the service of the United States, arrived with a few men from Fort Pitt, at Natches, a British settlement in West Florida. He sent out

parties, who, without any resistance, made the inhabitants prisoners. Articles of agreement were entered into between them and Captain Willing, by which they promised to observe a neutrality in the present contest, and in return it was engaged, that their property should be unmolested.*

Congress early in the year 1778, had resolved upon several expeditions against the Indians upon the western frontier of the middle states; but their exertions did not equal their resolutions, and the frontier settlers remained almost unprotected. Late in June, a party of 300 white men and 500 Indians, assembled on the Tioga, descended the Susquehanna, and suddenly appeared on the northern boundary of the flourishing valley of Wyoming. This party was commanded by Colonel John Butler and the Indian chief Brandt, two leaders in every way fitted for the work of murder and cruelty intended to be executed. They first seized on a small fort called Wintermoot's, which they burned. The inhabitants assembled at the first alarm at Forty-Fort, four miles below the camp of the invaders, on the west side of the Susquehanna. The regular troops were commanded by Colonel Zebulon Butler, and numbered about 60 men. The militia were led by Colonel Dennison. In compliance with the wish of the inhabitants, Colonel Butler marched from Forty-Fort on the 3d of July, at the head of 400 men to attack the enemy, who were prepared to receive them, in an advantageous position. The battle was commenced by a fire from the enemy, when Colonel Zebulon Butler formed his line of battle. He himself commanded on the right, and had gained some advantage, when a large body of Indians succeeded in turning the left flank, which was composed of militia. They poured a heavy fire on the rear, when an officer shouted the word "retreat," and a most disorderly flight ensued. Most of the officers were killed or wounded in an attempt to form the line a second time; and the confusion was completed by the Indians, who commenced a massacre with the tomahawk. The cries for mercy were

answered by the hatchet and the scalping knife ; and though but 60 men escaped to the fort, only three prisoners were taken to Niagara. Further resistance was impracticable, and the inhabitants capitulated ; Colonel Butler and the remnant of continental troops being refused quarter, fled from the place. The inhabitants soon after abandoned the settlements, which the Indians totally destroyed.*

On the 29th of October, Major Talbot took the British schooner *Pigot*, of eight 12 pounders, as she lay on the eastern side of Rhode Island. The major, with a number of troops on board a small vessel, made directly for the *Pigot* in the night, and sustaining the fire of her marines, reserved his own till he had run his jib-boom through her fore-shrouds. He then fired some cannon, and threw in a volley of musketry, loaded with bullets and buck-shot, and immediately boarded her. The captain made a gallant resistance, but he was not seconded by his crew. Major Talbot soon gained undisturbed possession, and carried off his prize in safety. Congress, as a reward of his merit, presented him with the commission of lieutenant-colonel.

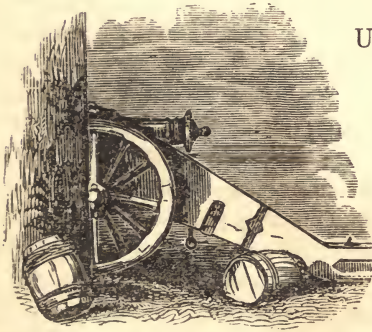
* Marshall.





CHAPTER VIII.

Campaign of 1779.



URING the year 1779, the British seem to have aimed at little more, in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making "The colonies of as

little avail as possible to their new connections," they planned sundry expeditions on this principle.

One of these consisting of both a naval and land force, was committed to Sir George Collier and General Matthews, who made a descent on Virginia. They sailed for Portsmouth, and on their arrival took possession of that

town. Norfolk on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched 18 miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk by morning, proceeded to the destruction of vessels, naval stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which had been deposited in that place. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's landing, Shepherds-gosport, Tanners creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business along the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hogsheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every house in Suffolk was burnt except the church, and one dwelling house. The houses of several private gentlemen in the country, shared the same fate. Above 130 vessels were either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships, was either carried off or destroyed. The fleet and army after demolishing Fort Nelson, and setting fire to the store houses, and other public buildings in the dock-yard at Gosport, embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty safe to New York, in the same month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no real service to the royal cause. It was presumed that by involving the citizens in losses and distress, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of submitting to a power, against which they had not the means of defending themselves: but the temper of the times was unfavourable to these views. Such was the high toned state of the American mind, that property had comparatively lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause of independence. Some hearty whigs gloried in their losses, with as much pride as others gloried in their possessions. In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to

the command of about 2600 land forces, employed on this business, and he was supported by General Garth. The transports which conveyed these troops, were covered by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by Sir George Collier. They proceeded from New York, by the way of Hurl-gate, and landed at East Haven.

One of the many addresses, issued by the British Commander, was sent by a flag to Colonel Whiting of the militia, near Fairfield. The Colonel was allowed an hour for his answer, but he had scarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned the following reply: "Connecticut, having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost, the power exerted against injured innocence." The British marched from their landing to New Haven. The town on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their household furniture and other moveable property. The harbour and water side was covered with feathers, which were discharged from opened beds. An aged citizen who laboured under a natural inability of speech, had his tongue cut out by one of the royal army. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders suddenly re-embarked and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity, posted themselves at the Court House green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but soon retreated to the height back of the town. On the approach of the British the town was evacuated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained, with the view of saving their property. They imagined, that their sex would protect them. They also reposed confidence in an enemy who they knew had been formerly famed for humanity and politeness, but they bitterly repented their presumption. Parties of the royal army entered the deserted houses of the inhabitants, broke open desks, trunks, closets

and chests, and took every thing of value that came in their way. They robbed the women of their buckles, rings, bonnets, aprons and handkerchiefs. They abused them with the foulest language, threatened their lives, and presented the bayonets to their breasts. A sucking infant was plundered of part of its clothing, while the bayonet was presented to the breast of its mother. Towards evening, they began to burn the houses which they had previously plundered. The women begged General Tryon to spare the town. Mr. Sayre, the Episcopal minister, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the women in their request, but their joint supplications were disregarded. They then begged, that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied, but at length Tryon consented to save the buildings of Mr. Burr and of Mr. Elliot, and also said, that the houses for public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear guard, consisting of German yaugers, set fire to every thing which Tryon had spared, but on their departure the inhabitants extinguished the flames, and saved some of the houses. The militia were joined by numbers from the country which successively came in to their aid, but they were too few to make effectual opposition.

The British in this excursion, also burned East Haven, the greatest part of Green's farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandise, were destroyed. Particular accounts of these devastations were, in a short time, transmitted by authority to Congress. By these it appeared that there were burnt at Norwalk, two houses of public worship, eighty dwelling houses, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, and five vessels; and at Fairfield, two houses of public worship, fifteen dwelling houses, eleven barns and several stores. There were at the same time a number of certificates transmitted to General Washington, in

which sundry persons of veracity bore witness on oath to various acts of brutality and cruelty, committed on aged persons, women and prisoners. Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British in this and other similar expeditions, resolved, "To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual measures, to carry into execution their manifesto of October 30th 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging to the enemy, in Great Britain or the West Indies," but their resolve was never carried into effect.

The fires and destruction which accompanied this expedition, were severely censured by the Americans, and apologized for by the British in a very unsatisfactory manner. The latter in their vindication, alleged that the houses which they had burned gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired from them, and on other occasions concealed their retreat.

While the British were proceeding in these desolating operations, General Washington was called upon for continental troops, but he could spare very few. He durst not detach largely, as he apprehended that one design of the British in these movements was to draw off a proportion of his army from West Point, to favor an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, and though from his small force he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, yet instead of pressing General Washington for a large detachment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The British may probably distress the country exceedingly, by the ravages they will commit; but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West Point."

The inhabitants feared much more than they suffered. They expected that the whole margin of their country, one hundred and twenty miles in extent, would suffer the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk. The season of the year added much to their difficulties, as the close attention of the farmers to their harvesting could not be omitted, without hazarding their subsistence.

These fears were not of long duration. In about ten days after the landing of the British troops, an order was issued for their immediate return to New York. This they effected, in a short time, and with a loss so inconsiderable, that in the whole expedition, it did not exceed one hundred and fifty men.

While the British were successfully making these desultory operations, the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, having by means of their superior marine force, the command of the numerous rivers, bays and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make descents, where they pleased, with an expedition that could not be equalled by the American land forces. Had General Washington divided his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut off in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to risk no more by way of covering the country than was consistent with the general safety.

His army was posted at some distance from the British head quarters in New York, and on both sides of the North River. The van thereof consisting of three hundred infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry, under the command of Colonel White, patrolled constantly, for several months, in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound and on the North River. This corps had sundry skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

About this time, General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading in Connecticut, when on a visit to his outpost at Horse-Neck, was attacked by Governor Tryon, with about 1500 men. General Putnam had only a picket of one hundred and fifty men, and two iron field pieces without horses or drag-ropes. He however planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting house, and by several fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge. General Putnam, after

ordering the picket to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, plunged down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach ; of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about and pursued Governor Tryon on his return.

The campaign of 1779, though barren of important events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprises which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stony Point, on the North River. General Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprise, set out at the head of a strong detachment of the most active infantry in the American army at noon, and completed a march of about fourteen miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The general, with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half-past eleven, the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, consisting of one hundred and fifty volunteers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by twenty picked men, who were particularly instructed to remove the abatis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by Major Stewart, and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar "forlorn hope." The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison, by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended.

The works were defended by a deep morass, which was also, at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass, the double row of abbatis, nor the strength of the works, damped the ardour of the assailants. In the face of a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre of the works, at nearly the same instant. General Wayne, as he passed the last abbatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball, but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding as a reason for it, that "if he died he wished it might be in the fort." Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led each a division, escaped unhurt, although the first lost seventeen men out of twenty, and the last nearly as many. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to ninety-eight. The killed of the garrison were sixty-three, and the number of their prisoners five hundred and forty-three. Two flags, two standards, fifteen pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The vigour and spirit with which this enterprise was conducted, was matter of triumph to the Americans. Congress gave their thanks to General Washington, "For the vigilance, wisdom and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the States, and which were among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the above enterprise." They also gave thanks to General Wayne, and ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck, and one of gold to be presented to him. They directed a silver one to be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, and also to Major Stewart. At the same time, they passed general resolutions in honour of the officers and men, but particularly designating Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, Major Stewart, and Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. To the two latter, and also to Mr. Archer, the General's volunteer Aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of captain. The clemency shewn to the vanquished, was universally applauded. The customs of war, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would

have been an apology for the conquerors, had they put the whole garrison to the sword ; but the assailants, no less generous than brave, ceased to destroy as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist. Upon the capture of Stony Point, the victors turned its artillery against Verplanck's Point, and fired upon it with such effect, that the shipping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As soon as the news of these events reached New York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with the cautious prudence of General Washington, to risk an engagement for either or both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the captured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of Stony Point, on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The successful enterprise of the Americans at Stony Point, was speedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldness of design. This was the surprise of the British garrison at Powles Hook, opposite to New York, which was effected by Major Lee, with about three hundred and fifty men. Major Sutherland the commandant, with a number of Hessians, got off safe to a small block house on the left of the fort, but about thirty of his men were killed and one hundred and sixty taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. Major Lee, in conformity to the orders he had received, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery. Congress honoured him with their thanks, and ordered a medal of gold, emblematical of the affair, to be struck, and presented to him as a reward "for his prudence, address and bravery."

In the year 1779, though the war was carried on for little more than distress and depredation in the northern states, the re-establishment of British government was seriously attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to British influence. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement from East Florida,

and the whole was put under the command of Major-General Prevost. The force then in Georgia gave a serious alarm to the adjacent states. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia or South Carolina, and scarce any in North Carolina, as during the late tranquillity in the southern states, they had been detached to serve in the main army commanded by General Washington. A body of militia was raised and sent forward by North Carolina to aid her neighbours. These joined the continental troops, but not till they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South Carolina. Towards the close of the year 1778, General Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South Carolina, was appointed by Congress, to take the command of their southern army. This consisted only of a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular soldiers, a considerable body of militia was ordered to join him, but they added much more to his numbers than to his effective force.

The royal army at Savannah being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in condition to extend their posts. Their first object was to take possession of Port Royal, in South Carolina. Major Gardiner with two hundred men being detached with this view, landed on the island, but General Moultrie at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove him off it. This advantage was principally gained by two field pieces, which were well served by a party of Charleston militia artillery. The British lost almost all their officers. The Americans had eight men killed and twenty-two wounded; among the former, Lieutenant Benjamin Wilkens, an artillery officer of great merit, and a citizen of distinguished virtue, whose early fall deprived a numerous family of their chief support. He was the first officer of South Carolina who lost his life in supporting its independence. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise to the northward of Savannah, but they fixed posts at Ebenezer,

and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. They also endeavoured to strengthen themselves by reinforcements from the tories, in the western settlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection, they were assured that if they embodied and added their force to that of the king's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendezvoused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta. Among those who called themselves loyalists, there were many of the most infamous character. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty, than for the honour and interest of their royal master. At every period before the war, the western wilderness of these states which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle or disorderly, who disrelished the restraints of civil society. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxes contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects of exemption from the control of government. Among these people the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of royalty, and of that class was a great proportion of those, who in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the king's friends. They had no sooner embodied and began their march to join the royal army at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering of the defenceless settlements through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Colonel Pickens, with about three hundred men of the latter character, immediately pursued, and came up with them near Kettle creek. An action took place, which lasted three quarters of an hour. The tories were totally routed. About forty of them were killed, and in that number was their leader Colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head

them. By this action the British were disconcerted. The tories were dispersed. Some ran quite off. Others went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South Carolina for offending against an act called the "Sedition act," which had been passed since the revolution for the security of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die, but the sentence was only executed on five of their ring-leaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah river, General Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the Carolina side. From these posts he formed a plan of crossing into Georgia, with a view of limiting the British to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this design, General Ash with 1500 North Carolina militia and a few regular troops, after crossing the river Savannah, took a position on Briar creek; but in a few days he was surprised by Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, who having made a circuitous march of about fifty miles, came unexpectedly on his rear with about nine hundred men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and one hundred and sixty-two were taken. Few had any chance of escaping but by crossing the Savannah, in attempting which many were drowned. Of those who got off safe, a great part returned home. The number that rejoined the American camp did not exceed four hundred and fifty men. The few continentals under Colonel Elbert made a brave resistance, but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. This event deprived General Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the tories of North and South Carolina.

The series of disasters which had followed the American arms since the landing of the British near Savannah, occasioned well founded apprehensions for the safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South Carolina was therefore put

on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raised. Governor Rutledge was invested, in conjunction with his council, with dictatorial powers. By virtue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia near the centre of the state, that they might be in constant readiness to march whithersoever public service required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. Part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah, at Purysburg and Black Swamp, while General Lincoln and the main army crossed into Georgia near Augusta. General Prevost availed himself of the critical moment, when the American army had ascended one hundred and fifty miles towards the source of the Savannah, and crossed into Carolina over the same river near to its mouth, with about two thousand four hundred men. A considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the British on this expedition. The superior British force which crossed the Savannah, soon compelled General Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of South Carolina, to retire. Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached three hundred of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie, but proceeded with his main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention, from an idea that General Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on Carolina, and because his marching down on the south side of the river Savannah, would cause very little delay in repairing to its defence. When Lincoln found that Prevost was seriously pushing for Charleston, he re-crossed the Savannah and pursued him. The British proceeded in their march by the main road near the sea coast, with but little opposition, and in the mean time the Americans retreated before them towards Charleston. General Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Instead of his receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia, who went to their homes. Their families and

property lay directly in the route of the invading army. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and above all the dread of the Indian savages which accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual became a source of terror to another. From the influence of these causes, many were induced to apply for British protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charleston. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than of what was true. They represented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wishing for peace at all events. They also stated that Charleston was incapable of much resistance. These circumstances, combined with the facility with which the British marched through the country, induced General Prevost to extend his plan and push for Charleston. Had he designed it at first, and continued his march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probably have been carried by a coup-de-main, but he halted two or three days when advanced near half the distance. In that interval every preparation was made by the South Carolinians for the defence of their capital. All the houses in its suburbs were burnt. Lines and abbatiss were, in a few days, carried across the peninsula between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this visit of the British, and especially an attack on the land side, was unexpected, yet in a few days great preparations were made, and a force of three thousand three hundred men assembled in Charleston for its defence.*

The main body and baggage of the British army being left on the south side of Ashley river, an advanced detachment of nine hundred men crossed the ferry and appeared before the town. In the mean time Lincoln was marching forward as

* Ramsay.

fast as possible, for the relief of Charleston, but as his arrival was doubtful and the crisis hazardous, to gain time was a matter of consequence. A whole day was therefore spent in the exchange of flags. Commissioners from the garrison were instructed "to propose a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America, and that the question whether the state shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers." The British commanders refused this advantageous offer, alleging that they did not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted that as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. This being refused, the garrison prepared for an immediate assault, but this was not attempted. About this time Major Benjamin Huger, commanding a party without the lines, was through mistake killed by his countrymen. By his fall the country was deprived of one of its firmest and most useful friends, and the army lost one of its brightest ornaments. Prevost knowing, by an intercepted letter, that Lincoln was coming on in his rear, retreated from Charleston, and filed off with his whole force from the main to the islands near the sea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charleston, watching each other's motions till the 20th of June, when an attack was made with about twelve hundred Americans on six hundred or seven hundred of the British, advantageously posted at Stono ferry. The latter had redoubts, with a line of communication, and field pieces in the intervals, and the whole was secured with an abbatiss. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James island, with a body of Charleston militia, at the moment when General Lincoln began the attack from the main, but from mismanagement, they did not reach their place of destination till the action was over. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage, but the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James island was intended, made their retreat necessary. The loss of the Americans in killed

and wounded was about one hundred and fifty. Among the former was Colonel Roberts, an artillery officer of distinguished abilities. In the short interval between his being wounded and his dying, he was visited on the field of battle by his son Captain Roberts, of his own regiment. The expiring father presented his sword to his son, with an exhortation to behave worthy of it, and to use it in defence of liberty and his country. After a short conversation he desired him to return to his proper station, adding as a reason, "that there he might be useful, but to him he could be of no service."

Immediately after this attack, the American militia, impatient of absence from their homes, returned to their plantations, and about the same time the British left the islands adjacent to Charleston, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port-Royal and Savannah. A considerable garrison was left at the former place under Colonel Maitland, but the main body went to Savannah.

This incursion into South Carolina contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause, but added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants.

Soon after the affair at Stono, the continental forces, under the command of General Lincoln, retired to Sheldon, a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both armies remained in their respective encampments till the arrival of D'Estaing on the coast, on the 1st of September, roused the whole country to immediate activity. His fleet consisted of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected that the Experiment man of war, of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, General Lincoln with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah, and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Great numbers were employed both by day

and night, in strengthening and extending their lines. The American militia, flushed with the hope of speedily expelling the British from their southern possessions, turned out with an alacrity which far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. D'Estaing before the arrival of Lincoln demanded the surrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevost in his answer declined surrendering on a general summons, and requested that specific terms should be proposed, to which he would give an answer. The count replied, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms. Prevost then asked for a suspension of hostilities, for twenty-four hours, for preparing proper terms. This was inconsiderately granted. Before the twenty-four hours elapsed, Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland with several hundred men who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way good through many obstacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah. The garrison, encouraged by the arrival of so respectable a force, determined on resistance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, several days were consumed in preparing for it, and in the meantime the works of the garrison were hourly strengthened by the labour of several hundred negroes, directed by Major Moncrief. The besiegers opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and fifteen from the water. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of town, but this was refused. The combined army suspected that a desire of secreting the plunder, lately taken from the South Carolinians, was covered under the veil of humanity. It was also presumed that a refusal would expedite a surrender. On a report from the engineers that a considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on Count D'Estaing by his marine officers, who had remonstrated

against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be surprised by a British fleet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged, but under these critical circumstances, no farther delay could be admitted. To assault or raise the siege was the alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter, but a sense of honour determined the besiegers to adopt the former. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring Hill battery early in the morning, with three thousand five hundred French troops, six hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of Charleston. These boldly marched up to the lines, under the command of D'Estaing and Lincoln, but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the gallies, threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two standards were nevertheless planted on the British redoubts. A retreat of the assailants was ordered, after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaing and Count Pulaski were both wounded, the former slightly, but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and upwards of two hundred of the continentals and militia, were killed or wounded. General Prevost, Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, and Major Moncrief, deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about one hundred and fifty were militia. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling, as they fired from behind works, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia, almost universally, went to their homes. Count D'Estaing re-embarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

While the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by Colonel John White of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken post with about one hundred

men near the river Ogechee, some time before the siege began. There were also at the same place, forty sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels and one hundred and thirty stand of arms, were surrendered to Colonel White, Captain Elholm and four others, one of which was the colonel's servant. On the preceding night, this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these and a variety of deceptive stratagems, Captain French was fully impressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up without making any resistance.

This visit of the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode Island. But this was of no advantage to the United States. For of all the blunders committed by the British in the course of the American war, none was greater than their stationing near six thousand men for two years and eight months, on that island, where they were lost to every purpose of co-operation, and where they could render very little more service to the royal cause, than could have been obtained by a couple of frigates cruising in the vicinity.

The siege being raised, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah. The vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere made a severe impression on the irritable fibres of men, exhausted with fatigue and dejected by defeat. In proportion to the towering hopes, with which the expedition was undertaken, was the depression of spirits subsequent to its failure. The Georgia exiles, who had assembled from all quarters to repossess themselves of their estates, were a

second time obliged to flee from their country and possessions. The most gloomy apprehensions respecting the southern states, took possession of the minds of the people.

Thus ended the southern campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had overrun the state of Georgia for one hundred and fifty miles from the sea coast, and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charleston, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by successive disappointments, were thoroughly broken.

An expedition which was to have taken place under Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, fortunately for the Virginia back settlers, against whom it was principally directed, fell through, in consequence of the spirited conduct of Colonel Clarke. The object of the expedition was extensive, and many Indians were engaged in it. Hamilton took post at St. Vincents in the winter, to have all things in readiness for invading the American settlements, as soon as the season of the year would permit. Clarke, on hearing that Hamilton had weakened himself by sending away a considerable part of his Indians against the frontier settlers, formed the resolution of attacking him, as the best expedient for preventing the mischiefs which were designed against his country. After surmounting many difficulties, he arrived with one hundred and thirty men unexpectedly at St. Vincents.

The town immediately gave up to the Americans, and assisted them in taking the fort. The next day Hamilton, with the garrison, agreed to surrender prisoners of war on articles of capitulation. Clarke, on hearing that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on its way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, which met them and made prize of the whole. By this well-conducted and spirited attack on Hamilton, his intended expedition was nipped in the bud. Colonel Clarke transmitted to the Council of Virginia letters and papers, relating to Lieutenant-Governor

Hamilton, Philip de Jean, justice of peace for Detroit, and William Lamothe, captain of volunteers, whom he had made prisoners. The Board reported that Hamilton had incited the Indians to perpetrate their accustomed cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants of the United States—had at the time of his captivity sent considerable detachments of Indians against the frontiers—had appointed a great council of them, to meet him and concert the operations of the ensuing campaign—had given standing rewards for scalps, and had treated American prisoners with cruelty. They also reported, that it appeared that De Jean was the willing and cordial instrument of Hamilton, and that Lamothe was captain of the volunteer scalping parties of Indians and Tories, who went out from time to time, under general orders to spare neither men, women, nor children. They therefore considering them as fit objects on which to begin the work of retaliation—advised the governor to put them in irons—confine them in the dungeon of the public jail—debar them the use of pen, ink and paper, and exclude them from all converse, except with their keeper.

Colonel Goose Van Schaick, with fifty-five men, marched from Fort Schuyler to the Onandago settlements, and burned the whole, consisting of about fifty houses, together with a large quantity of provisions. Horses, and stock of every kind, were killed. The arms and ammunition of the Indians were either destroyed or brought off, and their settlements were laid waste. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners. This expedition was performed in less than six days, and without the loss of a single man.

A particular detail of the devastation of property—of the distress of great numbers who escaped, only by fleeing to the woods, where they subsisted without covering, on the spontaneous productions of the earth—and of the barbarous murders which were committed on persons of every age and sex, would be sufficient to freeze every breast with horror.

In sundry expeditions which had been carried on against the Indians, ample vengeance had been taken on some of them, but these partial successes produced no lasting benefit. The

few who escaped, had it in their power to make thousands miserable. For the permanent security of the frontier inhabitants, it was resolved in the year 1779, to carry a decisive expedition into the Indian country. A considerable body of continental troops was selected for this purpose, and put under the command of General Sullivan. The Indians who formed the confederacy of the six nations, commonly called the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. They inhabited that immense and fertile tract of country, which lies between New England, the Middle States, and the province of Canada. They had been advised by Congress, and they had promised to observe neutrality in the war, but they soon departed from this line of conduct. The Oneidas and a few others were friends to the Americans, but a great majority took part decidedly against them. Overcome by the presents and promises of Sir John Johnson and other British agents, and their own native appetite for depredation, they invaded the frontiers, carrying slaughter and devastation wherever they went. From the vicinity of their settlements, to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. Much was therefore expected from their expulsion. When General Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country he was joined by the American general, Clinton, with upwards of one thousand men. The latter made his way down the Susquehanna by a singular contrivance. The stream of water in that river was too low to float his batteaux. To remedy this inconvenience, he raised with great industry a dam across the mouth of Lake Otsego, which is one of the sources of the river Susquehanna. The lake being constantly supplied by springs soon rose to the height of the dam. General Clinton having got his batteaux ready, opened a passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raised the river so high that he was enabled to embark all his troops and to float them down to Tioga. By this exertion they soon joined Sullivan. The Indians on hearing of the expedition projected against them, acted with firmness. They collected their strength, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. General Sullivan attacked them in

their works. They stood a cannonade for more than two hours, but then gave way. This engagement proved decisive: after the trenches were forced, the Indians fled without making any attempt to rally. They were pursued for some miles but without effect. The consternation occasioned among them by this defeat was so great, that they gave up all ideas of farther resistance. As the Americans advanced into their settlements, the Indians retreated before them, without throwing any obstructions in their way. General Sullivan penetrated into the heart of the country inhabited by the Mohawks, and spread desolation everywhere. Many settlements in the form of towns were destroyed, besides detached habitations. All their fields of corn, and whatever was in a state of cultivation, underwent the same fate. Scarcely a house was left standing, nor was an Indian to be seen.

In about three months from his setting out, Sullivan reached Easton in Pennsylvania, and soon after rejoined the army.

The Indians, by this decisive expedition, being made to feel in the most sensible manner, those calamities they were wont to inflict on others, became cautious and timid. The sufferings they had undergone, and the dread of a repetition of them, in case of their provoking the resentment of the Americans, damped the ardour of their warriors from making incursions into the American settlements. The frontiers, though not restored to perfect tranquillity, experienced an exemption from a great proportion of the calamities in which they had been lately involved.

Though these good consequences resulted from this expedition, yet about the time of its commencement, and before its termination, several detached parties of Indians distressed different settlements in the United States. A party of sixty Indians, and twenty-seven white men, under Brandt, attacked the Minisink settlement, and burnt ten houses, twelve barns, a fort and two mills, and carried off much plunder, together with several prisoners. The militia from Goshen and the vicinity, to the amount of one hundred and forty-nine, collected and pursued them, but with so little caution that, on the 23d of

July, they were surprised and defeated. In August, General Williamson and Colonel Pickens, of South Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of their state, burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, and insisted upon the Indians removing immediately from their late habitations into more remote settlements.

In the same month, Colonel Broadhead engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians. He left Pittsburg with six hundred and five men, and was gone about five weeks, in which time he penetrated about two hundred miles from the fort, destroyed a number of Indian huts and about five hundred acres of corn.*

* Ramsay.





CHAPTER IX.

Campaign of 1780.



O sooner was the departure of the French fleet known and confirmed, than Sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army in New York to Lieutenant-General Kniphausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps British, Hessian and provincial, a powerful detachment of artillery, two hundred and fifty cavalry, together with an ample supply of military stores and provisions. Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convey the troops to the place of their destination. The whole sailed from New York. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet arrived at Tybee, in Georgia. In a few days, the transports, with the army on board, sailed

from Savannah for North Edisto, and after a short passage, the troops made good their landing about thirty miles from Charleston, and on the 11th of February took possession of John's Island and Stono ferry, and soon after of James Island, and Wappoo Cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley river opposite to Charleston.

The Assembly of the state was sitting when the British landed, but broke up after "delegating to Governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, the power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town to repair to the American standard and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation. This severe though necessary measure produced very little effect. The country was much dispirited by the late repulse at Savannah.

The tedious passage from New York to Tybee, gave the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This, together with the losses which the royal army had sustained in the late tempestuous weather, induced Sir Henry Clinton to despatch an order to New York for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed Major-General Prevost to send on to him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. Brigadier-General Patterson, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the river Savannah, and through the intermediate country, and soon after joined Sir Henry Clinton near the banks of Ashley river. The royal forces without delay proceeded to the siege. At Wappoo, on James Island, they formed a depot, and erected fortifications both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston. An advanced party crossed Ashley

river, and soon after broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works. At successive periods, they erected five batteries on Charleston neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for its defence. The works which had been previously thrown up, were strengthened and extended. Lines and reboubts were continued across from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the whole was a strong abbatis, and a wet ditch made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, which run in opposite directions. Between the abbatis and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. To secure the centre, a hornwork had been erected, which being closed during the siege, formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels. From the 3d to the 10th of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th, the batteries were opened, and from that day an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened a work was thrown up near Wando river, nine miles from town, and another at Lempriere's point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered at a ferry over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. The British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion Road and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American force opposed to this was the Bricole, which, though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two of thirty-two guns, one of twenty-eight, two of twenty-six, two of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame, of sixteen guns. The first object of its commander, Commodore Whipple, was to prevent Admiral

Arbuthnot from crossing the bar, but on farther examination this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charleston. The crew and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries.

Admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and with the advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it, and anchored near the remains of Fort Johnson. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on the ships in their passage, which did as great execution as could be expected. To prevent the royal armed vessels from running into Cooper River, eleven vessels were sunk in the channel opposite to the exchange. The batteries of the besiegers soon obtained a superiority over the town. The former had twenty-one mortars and royals, the latter only two. The regular force in the garrison was much inferior to that of the besiegers, and but few of the militia could be persuaded to leave their plantations, and reinforce their brethren in the capital. A camp was formed at Monk's Corner to keep up the communication between the town and country, and the militia without the lines were requested to rendezvous there: but this was surprised and routed by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. The British having now less to fear, extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river. Two hundred and fifty horse, and six hundred infantry were detached on this service, but nevertheless, in the opinion of a council of war, the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack even that small force. About the 20th of April, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of three thousand men from New York. A second council of war, held on the 21st, agreed that "a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable," and advised, "that offers of capitulation, before their affairs became more critical, should be made to General Clinton, which might admit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property

of the inhabitants." These terms being proposed, were instantly rejected, but the garrison adhered to them, in hopes that succours would arrive from the neighbouring states. The bare offer of capitulating dispirited the garrison, but they continued to resist in expectation of favourable events. The British speedily completed the investment of the town, both by land and water. After Admiral Arbuthnot had passed Sullivan's Island, Colonel Pinckney, with one hundred and fifty of the men under his command, were withdrawn from that post to Charleston. Soon after the fort on the island was surrendered without opposition, to Captain Hudson of the royal navy. On the same day, the remains of the American cavalry which escaped from the surprise at Monk's Corner, on the 14th of April, were again surprised by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton at Laneau's ferry on the Santee, and the whole either killed, captured or dispersed. While every thing prospered with the British, Sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence with General Lincoln, and renewed his former offers to the garrison in case of their surrender. Lincoln was disposed to close with them, as far as they respected his army, but some demur was made with a view of gaining better terms for the citizens, which it was hoped might be obtained on a conference. This was asked: but Clinton, instead of granting it, answered "that hostilities should recommence at eight o'clock." Nevertheless, neither party fired till nine. The garrison then recommenced hostilities. The besiegers immediately followed, and each cannonaded the other with unusual briskness. The British batteries of the third parallel opened on this occasion. Shells and carcasses were thrown into almost all parts of the town, and several houses were burned. The cannon and mortars played on the garrison at a less distance than a hundred yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near the American lines, that with their rifles they could easily strike any object that was visible on them. The British, having crossed the wet ditch by sap, advanced within twenty-five yards of the American works, and were ready for making a general assault by land and water. All expectation of succour was at an end. The only hope left

was that nine thousand men, the flower of the British army, seconded by a naval force, might fail in storming extensive lines defended by less than three thousand men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted till the 11th. On that day a great number of the citizens addressed General Lincoln in a petition, expressing their acquiescence in the terms which Sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requesting his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, General Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry, and offered to accept the terms before proposed. The royal commanders wishing to avoid the extremity of a storm, and unwilling to press to unconditional submission an enemy whose friendship they wished to conciliate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed, and Major General Leslie took possession of the town on the next day. The loss on both sides during the siege was nearly equal. Of the king's troops, seventy-six were killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded. Of the Americans eighty-nine were killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. Upwards of four hundred pieces of artillery were surrendered. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison was to march out of town, and to deposit their arms in front of the works: but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war till exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole, and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property. The inhabitants of all conditions to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage unsearched. They were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them; a vessel was allowed to proceed to Philadelphia with General Lincoln's despatches unopened.

The numbers which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia and every adult male inhabitant, was above five thousand, but the proper garrison at the time of the surrender

did not exceed two thousand five hundred. The precise number of privates in the continental army was one thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven, of which number five hundred were in the hospitals. The captive officers were much more in proportion than the privates, and consisted of one major general, six brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, thirty-two second lieutenants and ensigns. The gentlemen of the country, who were mostly militia officers, from a sense of honour repaired to the defence of Charleston, though they could not bring with them privates equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates.

This was the first instance in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the Union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.

Shortly after the surrender, the British commander adopted sundry measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them in a handbill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority: "That the helping hand of every man was wanting to re-establish peace and good government—that the commander-in-chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success, but as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed "That they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia for the maintenance of peace and good order, but from those who had no families it was expected that they would cheerfully assist in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised, "That when on service, they would be allowed pay, ammunition and provisions in the same manner as the king's troops." About the same time, Sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, declared, "That if any person should thenceforward appear in arms in

order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country, or should under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other person or persons so to do, or who should hinder the king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation." In a few days after, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with some exceptions, "Pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures."

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British, was to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They also marched with upwards of two thousand men towards North Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charleston. One of these, consisting of about three hundred continentals, commanded by Colonel Buford, was overtaken at the Waxhaws by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, and completely defeated. Five out of six of the whole were either killed or so badly wounded, as to be incapable to be removed from the field of battle; and this took place though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill twelve and wound five of the British. This great disproportion of the killed on the two sides, arose from the circumstance that Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans, after they had ceased to resist and laid down their arms.

Sir Henry Clinton having left about four thousand men for the southern service, embarked early in June with the main army for New York. On his departure the command devolved

on Lieutenant General Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North Carolina. Earl Cornwallis despatched instructions to the principal loyalists in that state, to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the latter end of August or beginning of September. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to Lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charleston, devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of South Carolina. In the meantime, the impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the states might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-Six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state bordering on North Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered.

The precautions taken to prevent the rising of the royalists in North Carolina, did not answer the end. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, under the direction of Colonel Moore, took up arms, and were in a few days defeated by the whig militia, commanded by General Rutherford. Colonel Bryan, another loyalist, though equally injudicious as to time, was successful. He reached the seventy-first regiment stationed in the Cheraws with about eight hundred men, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin.

While the conquerors were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. Governor Rutledge, who during the siege of Charleston had been requested by General Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously and successfully negotiating with North Carolina, Virginia, and Congress, to obtain a force for checking the progress of the British arms. Representations to the same effect, had also been made in due time by

General Lincoln. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from their main army, to be marched to the southward. North Carolina also ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the British advanced to the upper country of South Carolina, a considerable number of determined whigs retreated before them, and took refuge in North Carolina. In this class was Colonel Sumpter, a distinguished partizan, who was well qualified for conducting military operations. A party of exiles from South Carolina, made choice of him for their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen, he returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther resistance.

The first effort of renewed warfare was two months after the fall of Charleston, when one hundred and thirty-three of Colonel Sumpter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing in the beginning of the year. The steady persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-western frontier of South Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join Colonel Sumpter, though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased in every other part of the state. His troops in a few days amounted to six hundred men. With this increase of strength, he made a spirited attack on a party of the British at Rocky Mount, but as he had no artillery, and they were secured under cover of earth filled in between logs, he could make no impression upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Sensible that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise, and that to keep militia together it is necessary to employ them, this active partizan attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the prince of Wales' regiment, and a large body of tories, posted at the Hanging Rock. The prince of Wales' regiment was almost totally destroyed. From two hundred and seventy-eight it was reduced to nine men. The loyalists, who were of that party

which had advanced from North Carolina under Colonel Brian, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston daily abated. The whig militia on the extremities of the state formed themselves into parties under leaders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their own countrymen, who as a royal militia were co-operating with the king's forces. While Sumpter kept up the spirits of the people by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states, for the relief of their southern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charleston, orders were given for the Maryland and Delaware troops to march from General Washington's head-quarters to South Carolina, but the quarter-master-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as soon as was intended.

After marching through Jersey and Pennsylvania, they embarked at the head of Elk, and landed soon after at Petersburg, and thence proceeded through the country towards South Carolina. This force was at first put under the command of Major-General Baron de Kalb, and afterwards of General Gates. The success of the latter in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe that his presence as commander of the southern army, would re-animate the friends of independence. While Baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the well cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws: but General Gates on taking the command did not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing it to be most for the interest of the states that he should proceed immediately with his army, on the shortest road to the vicinity of the British encampment. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny, but the officers who shared every calamity in common with the privates, interposed, and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their

hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of using green corn and peaches in the place of bread. They were subsisted for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, the unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation. The wit and humour displayed on the occasion contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The American army, having made its way through a country of pine-barren, sand-hills and swamps, reached Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden. The next day General Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

The similarity of language and appearance between the British and American armies, gave opportunities for imposing on the inhabitants. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton with a party, by assuming the name and dress of Americans, passed themselves near Black river, for the advance of General Gates' army. Some of the neighbouring militia were eagerly collected by Mr. Bradley, to co-operate with their supposed friends, but after some time the veil being thrown aside, Bradley and his volunteers were carried to Camden, and confined there as prisoners.

The army with which Gates advanced, was by the arrival of Stephens' militia, increased nearly to four thousand men, but of this large number, the whole regular force was only nine hundred infantry, and seventy cavalry. On the approach of Gates, Earl Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden, and arrived there on the 14th. The force which his lordship found collected on his arrival, was seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. This inferior number would have justified a retreat, but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night

of the 15th, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night, Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at ten o'clock P. M. in the following order. Colonel Armand's advance cavalry. Colonel Porterfield's light infantry, on the right flank of Colonel Armand's in Indian-file, two hundred yards from the road. Major Armstrong's light infantry in the same order as Colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of the legion advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced pickets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland, division of North Carolina, Virginia rear guard, volunteer cavalry, upon flanks of the baggage equally divided. The light infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry, and Colonel Armand was directed in that case to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion, being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army soon recovered its order, and both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Porterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities General Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning a severe and general engagement took place. At the first onset, a great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North Carolina militia followed the unworthy example, but the continentals, who formed the right wing of

the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground and maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better: for some time they had clearly the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a considerable body of prisoners: overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In justice to the North Carolina militia it should be remarked, that part of the brigade commanded by General Gregory acquitted themselves well. They were formed immediately on the left of the continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. General Gregory himself was twice wounded by a bayonet in bringing off his men, and several of his brigade, who were made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets. Two hundred and ninety American wounded prisoners were carried into Camden, after this action. Of this number two hundred and six were continentals, eighty-two were North Carolina militia, and two were Virginia militia. The resistance made by each corps, may in some degree be estimated from the number of wounded. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field pieces, upwards of two hundred waggons, and the greatest part of their baggage. Almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action and dispersed. The fugitives who fled by the common road, were pursued above twenty miles by the horse of Tarleton's legion, and the way was covered with arms, baggage and waggons. Baron de Kalb, the second in command, a brave and experienced officer, was taken prisoner and died on the next day of his wounds. The baron, who was a German by birth, had long been in the French service. He had travelled through the British provinces, about the time of the Stamp act, and is said to have reported to his superiors on his return, "that the colonists were so firmly and universally attached to Great Britain, that nothing could shake their loyalty." Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory in Annapolis.

General Rutherford of North Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner.

The royal army fought with great bravery, but the completeness of their victory was in a great degree owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia. The whole loss is supposed to have amounted to several hundreds.

To add to the distresses of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumpter's corps. While the former was advancing near to the British army, the latter, who had previously taken post between Camden and Charleston, took a number of prisoners, and captured sundry British stores, together with their convoy. On hearing of the defeat of his superior officer, he began to retreat with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton, with his legion, and a detachment of infantry, pursued with such celerity and address as to overtake and surprise this party at Fishing Creek. The British rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The retreating Americans, having been four days with little or no sleep, were more obedient to the calls of nature, than attentive to her first law, self-preservation. Sumpter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprise, but his videttes were so overcome with fatigue, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few to stand their ground for a short time, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. He lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured or dispersed. The prisoners he had lately taken were all re-taken.

On the 17th and 18th of August about one hundred and fifty of Gates' army rendezvoused at Charlotte. These had reason to apprehend that they would be immediately pursued and cut to pieces. There was no magazine of provisions in the town, and it was without any kind of defence. It was therefore concluded to retreat to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this would be the picture of complicated wretchedness. There were more wounded men than could be conve-

niently carried off. The inhabitants, hourly expecting the British to advance into their settlement, and generally intending to flee, could not attend to the accommodation of the suffering soldiers. Objects of distress occurred in every quarter. There were many who stood in need of kind assistance, but there were few who could give it to them. Several men were to be seen with but one arm, and some without any. Anxiety, pain and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, promiscuously marked the gloomy scene. Under these circumstances the remains of that numerous army, which had lately caused such terror to the friends of Great Britain, retreated to Salisbury, and soon after to Hillsborough. General Gates had previously retired to this last place, and was there in concert with the government of North Carolina, devising plans of defence, and for renewing military operations.

Though there was no army to oppose Lord Cornwallis, yet the season and bad health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The present moment of triumph seemed therefore the most favourable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the armies of Congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

Orders were given by Lord Cornwallis "that all the inhabitants of the province, who had submitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour—that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed." He also ordered in the most positive manner "that every militia man, who had borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Camden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged in consequence of these orders. The men who suffered had been compelled, by the necessities of their families, and the prospect of saving their property, to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. Experience soon taught them

the inefficacy of these submissions. This in their opinion absolved them from the obligations of their engagements to support the royal cause, and left them at liberty to follow their inclinations.

Notwithstanding the decisive superiority of the British armies in South Carolina, several of the most respectable citizens, though in the power of their conquerors, resisted every temptation to resume the character of subjects. To enforce a general submission, orders were given by Lord Cornwallis immediately after his victory, to send out of South Carolina a number of its principal citizens. Lieutenant-Governor Gadsden, most of the civil and militia officers, and some others, who had declined exchanging their paroles for the protection of British subjects, were taken up, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine. General Moultrie remonstrated against the confinement and removal of these gentlemen, as contrary to their rights derived from the capitulation of Charleston. They at the same time challenged their adversaries to prove any conduct of theirs, which merited expulsion from their country and families. They received no farther satisfaction, than that the measure had been "adopted from motives of policy." To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were seriously resolved to remove from the country all who refused to become subjects, an additional number of about thirty citizens of South Carolina, who remained prisoners on parole, were sent off to the same place in less than three months. General Rutherford and Colonel Isaacs, both of North Carolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, were associated with them.*

The disaster of the army under General Gates, overspread at first the face of American affairs with a dismal gloom, but the day of prosperity to the United States began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent

* Ramsay.

and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have seen Sumpter penetrating into South Carolina, and re-commencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by Governor Rutledge, to the rank of brigadier-general. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and in the north-eastern extremities of the state, successfully prosecuted a similar plan. This valuable officer, after the surrender of Charleston, retreated to North Carolina. On the advance of General Gates, he obtained a command of sixteen men. With these he penetrated through the country, and took a position near the Santee. On the defeat of General Gates, he was compelled to abandon the state, but returned after an absence of a few days. For several weeks he had under his command only seventy men. At one time, hardships and dangers reduced that number to twenty-five, yet with this inconsiderable number he secured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various schemes were tried to detach the inhabitants from co-operating with him. Major Wemys burned scores of houses on Pedee, Lynch's Creek and Black River, belonging to such as were supposed to do duty with Marion, or to be subservient to his views. This had an effect different from what was intended. Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism, to make these ruined men keep the field. Having no houses to shelter them, the camps of their countrymen became their homes. For several months, Marion and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats they sallied out, whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy, or of serving their country presented itself.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumpter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the state. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of General Gates, was not extinguished by his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed, but not subdued. The severity with which revolters who fell into the hands of the British were

treated, induced those who escaped to persevere and seek safety in swamps.

From the time of the general submission of the inhabitants in 1780, pains had been taken to increase the royal force by the co-operation of the yeomanry of the country. The British persuaded the people to form a royal militia, by representing that every prospect of success in their scheme of independence was annihilated, and that a farther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. Major Ferguson of the seventy-first regiment, was particularly active in this business. He visited the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and collected a corps of militia of that description, from which much active service was expected. He advanced to the northwestern settlements, to hold communication with the loyalists of both Carolinas. From his presence, together with assurances of an early movement of the royal army into North Carolina, it was hoped that the friends of royal government would be roused to activity in the service of their king. In the meantime every preparation was made for urging offensive operations, as soon as the season and the state of the stores would permit.

That spirit of enterprise, which has already been mentioned as beginning to revive among the American militia about this time, prompted Colonel Clarke to make an attempt on the British post at Augusta in Georgia; but in this he failed and was obliged to retreat. Major Ferguson, with the hope of intercepting his party, kept near the mountains and at a considerable distance from support. These circumstances, together with the depredations of the loyalists, induced the hardy republicans on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, to form an enterprise for reducing that distinguished partizan. This was done of their own motion, without any direction from the governments of America, or from the officers of the continental army.

There was, without any apparent design, a powerful combination of several detached commanders of several adjacent states, with their respective commands of militia. Colonel

Campbell of Virginia, Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowell of North Carolina, together with Colonels Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South Carolina, all rendezvoused together, with a number of men amounting to sixteen hundred, though they were under no general command, and though they were not called upon to embody by any common authority, or indeed by any authority at all, but that of a general impulse on their own minds. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels of some of the states by common consent, commanded each day alternately. The hardships these volunteers underwent were very great. Some of them subsisted for weeks together, without tasting bread or salt, or spirituous liquors, and slept in the woods without blankets. The running stream quenched their thirst. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens, or at most the limbs of trees were their only covering. Ears of corn or pompions thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provisions. They had neither commissaries, quarter-masters, nor stores of any kind. They selected about a thousand of their best men, and mounted them on the fleetest of their horses. These attacked Major Ferguson on the top of King's Mountain, near the confines of North and South Carolina. The Americans formed three parties. Colonel Lacey of South Carolina led one, which attacked on the west end. The two others were commanded by Colonels Campbell and Cleveland, one of which attacked on the east end, and the other in the centre. Ferguson with great boldness attacked the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retire, but they only fell back a little way, and getting behind trees and rocks, renewed their fire in almost every direction. The British being uncovered, were aimed at by the American marksmen, and many of them were slain. An unusual number of the killed were found to have been shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with such exactness, that they killed each other when taking sight, so effectually that their eyes remained after they were dead, one shut and the other open, in

the usual manner of marksmen when levelling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed as much bravery as was possible in his situation : but his encampment on the top of the mountain was not well chosen, as it gave the Americans an opportunity of covering themselves in their approaches. Had he pursued his march on charging and driving the first party of the militia which gave way, he might have got off with the most of his men, but his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After a severe conflict he received a mortal wound. No chance of escape being left, and all prospect of successful resistance being at an end, the contest was ended by the submission of the survivors. Upwards of eight hundred became prisoners, and two hundred and twenty-five had been previously killed or wounded. Very few of the assailants fell, but in their number was Colonel Williams, a distinguished militia officer in Ninety-Six district, who had been very active in opposing the re-establishment of British government. Ten of the royal militia who surrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure by the severity of the British, who had lately hung several of the captured Americans, in South Carolina and Georgia. They also alleged that the men who suffered were guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land. The fall of Ferguson was in itself a great loss to the royal cause. He possessed superior abilities as a partisan, and his spirit of enterprise was uncommon. To a distinguished capacity for planning great designs, he also added the practical abilities necessary to carry them into execution. The unexpected advantage which the Americans gained over him and his party, in a great degree frustrated a well-concerted scheme for strengthening the British army by the co-operation of the tory inhabitants, whom he had undertaken to discipline and prepare for active service. The total rout of the party, which had joined Major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The same timid caution, which made them adverse to joining their countrymen in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any

more in support of the royal cause. Henceforward they waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and reserved themselves till the British army, by its own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, Lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village, and marched with the main army towards Salisbury, intending to push forwards in that direction. While on his way thither, the North Carolina militia was very industrious and successful in annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and from behind trees made sure of their objects. The late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen dangers if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their main body. The defeat of Major Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to Lord Cornwallis, and he soon after retreated to Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his wagons, and single men often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape. The panic occasioned by the defeat of General Gates had in a great measure worn off. The defeat of Major Ferguson and the consequent retreat of Lord Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field. Sumpter, soon after the dispersion of his corps on the 18th of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventurers, and partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these, though for three months there was no continental army in the state, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position from time to time about Enoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British parties with frequent incursions—beat up their quarters—intercepted their convoys, and so harrassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enterprise was so particularly injurious to the British, that they laid sundry plans for destroying his force, but they all failed in the execution. He

was attacked at Broad river November 12th, by Major Wemys, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days after he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger river, by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. The attack was begun with one hundred and seventy dragoons and eighty men of the sixty-third regiment. A considerable part of Sumpter's force had been thrown into a large log barn, from the apertures of which they fired with security. Many of the sixty-third regiment were killed. Tarleton charged with his cavalry, but, being unable to dislodge the Americans, retreated, and Sumpter was left in quiet possession of the field. The loss of the British in this action was considerable. Among their killed were three officers, Major Money, and Lieutenants Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, but General Sumpter received a wound, which for several months interrupted his gallant enterprises in behalf of his country. His zeal and activity in animating the militia, when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed in sundry attacks on the British detachments, procured him the applause of his countrymen, and the thanks of Congress.

For the three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, General Gates was industriously preparing to take the field. Having collected a force at Hillsborough he advanced to Salisbury, and very soon after to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy ; but from that influence which popular opinion has over public affairs in a commonwealth, Congress resolved to supersede him, and to order a court of enquiry to be held on his conduct. This was founded on a former resolve, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a court of enquiry. The cases were no ways parallel, he had lost a battle but not a post. The only charge that could be exhibited against General Gates was that he had been defeated. His enemies could accuse him of no military crime, unless that to be unsuc-

cessful might be reckoned so. The public, sore with their losses, were desirous of a change, and Congress found it necessary to gratify them, though at the expense of the feelings of one of their best, and till August, 1780, one of their most successful officers. Virginia did not so soon forget Saratoga. When General Gates was at Richmond on his way home from Carolina, the house of Burgesses of that state unanimously resolved "that a committee of four be appointed to wait on General Gates, and assure him of their high regard and esteem, and that the remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated by any reverse of fortune; but that ever mindful of his great merit, they would omit no opportunity of testifying to the world the gratitude which the country owed to him in his military character."

These events, together with a few unimportant skirmishes not worthy of being particularly mentioned, closed the campaign of 1780 in the southern states.

While the war raged in South Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern states, was barren of important events.

In January, Lord Sterling made an effectual attempt to surprise a party of the enemy on Staten Island. While he was on the island, a number of persons from the Jersey side passed over and plundered the inhabitants, who had submitted to the British government.

In the first months of the year 1780, while the royal army was weakened by the expedition against Charleston, the British were apprehensive for their safety in New York. The rare circumstance which then existed, of a connection between the main and York Island, by means of ice, seemed to invite to the enterprise, but the force and equipments of the American army were unequal to it. Lieutenant General Kniphausen, who then commanded in New York, apprehending such a design, embodied the inhabitants of the city as a militia for its defence.

In June, an incursion was made into Jersey from New York, with five thousand men, commanded by Lieutenant-General Kniphausen. They landed at Elizabethtown, and

proceeded to Connecticut farms. In this neighbourhood lived the Rev. Mr. James Caldwell, a presbyterian clergyman of great activity, ability and influence, whose successful exertions in animating the Jersey militia to defend their rights, had rendered him particularly obnoxious to the British. When the royal forces were on their way into the country, a soldier came to his house in his absence, and shot his wife, Mrs. Caldwell instantly dead, by levelling his piece directly at her through the window of the room, in which she was sitting with her children. Her body at the request of an officer of the new levies, was moved to some distance, and then the house and every thing in it was reduced to ashes. The British burnt about twelve other houses, and also the Presbyterian church, and then proceeded to Springfield. As they advanced they were annoyed by Colonel Dayton with a few militia. On their approach to the bridge near the town, they were farther opposed by General Maxwell, who with a few continental troops was prepared to dispute its passage. They made a halt, and soon after returned to Elizabethtown. Before they retreated, the whole American army at Morristown marched to oppose them. While this royal detachment was in Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton returned with his victorious troops from Charleston to New York. He ordered a reinforcement to Kniphausen, and the whole advanced a second time towards Springfield. They were now opposed by General Greene, with a considerable body of continental troops. Colonel Angel with his regiment and a piece of artillery was posted to secure the bridge in front of the town. A severe action took place which lasted forty minutes. Superior numbers forced the Americans to retire. General Greene took post with his troops on a range of hills, in hopes of being attacked. Instead of this the British began to burn the town. Near fifty dwelling houses were reduced to ashes. The British then retreated, but were pursued by the enraged militia, till they entered Elizabethtown. The next day they set out on their return to New York. The loss of the Americans in the action was about

eighty, and that of the British was supposed to be considerably more. By such desultory operations, were hostilities carried on at this time in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burnt, and much mischief done; but nothing was effected which tended either to reconciliation or subjugation.

The loyal Americans who had fled within the British lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory war into system. On their petition to Sir Henry Clinton, they had been, in the year 1779, permitted to set up a distinct government in New York, under a jurisdiction called the honourable board of associated loyalists. They had something like a fleet of small privateers and cruisers, by the aid of which, they committed various depredations. A party of them who had formerly belonged to Massachusetts, went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs and two or three schooners.

The distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in the year 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch till the year 1780. Congress not possessing the means of supporting their army, devolved the business on the component parts of the confederacy. Some states, from their internal ability and local advantages, furnished their troops not only with clothing, but with many conveniences. Others supplied them with some necessaries, but on a more contracted scale. A few, from their particular situation, could do little or nothing at all. The officers and men in the routine of duty, mixed daily and compared circumstances. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service which made such injurious distinctions. From causes of this kind, superadded to a complication of wants and sufferings, a disposition to mutiny began to show itself in the American army. This broke forth into full action among the soldiers which were stationed at Fort Schuyler. Thirty-one of the men of that garrison went off in a body. Being pursued, sixteen of them were overtaken, and thirteen of

the sixteen were instantly killed. About the same time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied and got under arms. They determined to return home, or to gain subsistence at the point of bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and urged every argument, that could either interest their pride or their passions. They were reminded of their good conduct, of the important objects for which they were contending, but their answer was, "our sufferings are too great, and we want present relief." After much expostulation, they were at length prevailed upon to go to their huts. It is remarkable, that this mutinous disposition of the Connecticut troops, was in a great measure quelled by the Pennsylvania line, which in a few months, as shall hereafter be related, planned and executed a much more serious revolt, than that which they now suppressed.

About the same time, or rather a little before, the news arrived of the reduction of Charleston, and the capture of the whole American southern army. Such was the firmness of the common soldiery, and so strong their attachment to the cause of their country, that though danger impelled, want urged, and British favour invited them to a change of sides, yet on the arrival of but a scanty supply of meat for their subsistence, military duty was cheerfully performed, and no uncommon desertion took place.

While unexampled preparations were making in America, the armament which had been promised by his Most Christian Majesty, was on its way. As soon as it was known in France, that a resolution was adopted, to send out troops to the United States, the young French nobility discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that service. Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness, than was the honour of serving under General Washington. The number of applicants was much greater than the service required. The disposition to support the American revolution, was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the whole body of the nation. The winds and waves did not second the ardent wishes of the French troops. Though

they sailed from France on the 1st of May, 1780, they did not reach a port in the United States till the 10th of July following. On that day, to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels. He likewise convoyed a fleet of transports, with four old French regiments, besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to six thousand men, all under the command of Lieutenant-General Count de Rochambeau. To the French as soon as they landed, possession was given of the forts and batteries on the island, and by their exertions they were soon put in a high state of defence. In a few days after their arrival, an address of congratulation from the general assembly of the state of Rhode Island, was presented to Count de Rochambeau; and General Washington recommended, in public orders to the American officers, as a symbol of friendship and affection for their allies, to wear black and white cockades, the ground to be of the first colour, and the relief of the second.

The French troops, united both in interest and affection with the Americans, ardently longed for an opportunity to co-operate with them against the common enemy. The continental army wished for the same with equal ardour. One circumstance alone seemed unfavourable to this spirit of enterprise. This was the deficient clothing of the Americans. Some whole lines, officers as well as men, were shabby, and a great proportion of the privates were without shirts. Such troops, brought along side even of allies fully clad in the elegance of uniformity, must have been more or less than men to feel no degradation on the contrast.

Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month with his victorious troops from Charleston, embarked about eight thousand of his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntington-bay on Long Island, with the apparent design of concurring with the British fleet, in attacking the French force at Rhode Island. When this movement took place, General Washington set his army in motion, and proceeded to

Peekskill. Had Sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be his design, General Washington intended to have attacked New York in his absence. Preparations were made for this purpose, but Sir Henry Clinton instantly turned about from Huntington-bay towards New York.

In the meantime, the French fleet and army being blocked up at Rhode Island, were incapacitated from co-operating with the Americans. Hopes were nevertheless indulged, that by the arrival of another fleet of his Most Christian Majesty then in the West Indies, under the command of Count de Guichen, the superiority would be so much in favour of the allies, as to enable them to prosecute their original intention, of attacking New York. When the expectations of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, and when they were in great forwardness of preparation to act in concert with their allies, intelligence arrived that Count de Guichen had sailed for France. This disappointment was extremely mortifying. The Americans had made uncommon exertions, on the idea of receiving such aid from their allies, as would enable them to lay effectual siege to New York, or to strike some decisive blow. Their towering expectations were in a moment levelled with the dust. Another campaign was anticipated, and new shades were added to the deep cloud, which for some time past had overshadowed American affairs.*

An occurrence now happened which excited an intense interest throughout the Union. General Arnold, next to Washington, had been the most conspicuous military character of the revolution. His campaign in Canada, notwithstanding its misfortunes, had elevated him to the highest reputation. Unluckily, his temper and manners, proud and overbearing raised up numerous enemies, who became even a majority in congress. Hence, when an extensive promotion was made, he was passed over, and five officers junior in the service, and much inferior in reputation, were placed over his head. Washington deeply deplored this injustice, and remonstrated,

* Ramsay.

though vainly, against it. He did every thing possible to soothe the wounded pride of his friend, whose exploits as a volunteer, during several attacks on the coast of New England, were so very splendid, that Congress could no longer avoid granting the promotion, though tardily and ungraciously. The commander-in-chief then procured for him an appointment in the army sent against Burgoyne, where he greatly augmented his reputation, and being disabled by severe wounds for field service, obtained from the same authority the honourable station of commandant in Philadelphia. Here, however, his lofty bearing brought him into collision with the members of congress and the provincial council of that city. He made a claim for reimbursement of advances during the Canadian campaign, which was alleged by his enemies to be exorbitant, and even fraudulent. Its amount or nature being nowhere stated, it is difficult to judge ; but there could be nothing very gross, since the hostile party never founded upon it any charge, nor was the demand ever withdrawn by himself. Congress, only alleging the intricacy of the account, delayed the settlement from time to time, and no part was ever actually paid. This was the more harrassing, as an extravagant mode of living had involved him in embarrassments, which he sought to relieve by privateering and commercial speculations, not certainly dishonest, yet considered unsuitable to his rank and situation ; and being unfortunate, they aggravated his distress. From the observation of these circumstances, his enemies inferred the likelihood of his abusing, for corrupt purposes, the powers attached to his command. Eagerly scanning with this view every particular, the city council presented a series of charges to congress ; but a committee of that body reported that nothing criminal had been proved. Among its members, however, then violently rent by faction, the party hostile to him preponderated. The report of their own committee was rejected, and a new one named, composed partly of the accusing council ; yet, as even this was not found to work well, the affair was finally referred to a court-martial. The great difficulty found in making up a plausible accusation, with some

military operations, caused a cruel delay of more than a year. At length, on the 26th January, 1780, the court pronounced its sentence, finding him guilty only of two charges,—that when at Valley Forge he had granted protection to a vessel sailing from Philadelphia, when it was somewhat irregular to do so ; and that he had once employed public wagons in the conveyance of private property, though paying all the expenses. Neither act, in the opinion of the court, implied any criminal intention ; yet upon these nugatory grounds he was sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. That great man could not escape the unwelcome task, but executed it in the most delicate possible manner, rendering it indeed rather a panegyric than a censure. He recalled his great actions, and promised fresh opportunities for distinction ; but nothing probably could soothe his wounded feelings at not obtaining that full acquittal to which he felt himself entitled.*

Arnold now finally determined to go over to the British cause. The grounds assigned by him were, that America had gained all her demands, and there remained no longer any motive for separation, war, and the odious alliance with France. These were motives which might have fairly swayed his mind, had they been openly and honourably acted upon ; and even some bias from accumulated wrongs might have been excused by human infirmity. But the purpose was carried out in a manner which fully justifies the Americans in branding him with the name of traitor, though not for the extreme rancour with which they have followed his memory. He made, perhaps, too large personal stipulations for himself, especially if they included a sum of money, which, however, seems not to have been ascertained. He carried on a long correspondence, and gave information to the British, while he held office, and professed zeal in the American interest ; lastly, he took steps now to be narrated, by which no man of honour would seek to support even the best of causes.

His object was to obtain the possession of some important post, by delivering over which he might gain high credit with

* Sparks' American Biography, vol. iii.

his new employers; and this design was facilitated by the great value set on his talents by the commander-in-chief. He accordingly solicited the command at West Point, the key of all the positions on the Hudson, and by which the two wings of the army mainly communicated. This choice surprised Washington, who had destined him for leader of one of the wings of the army, as likely to be both the most useful and the most agreeable to his ardent temper; however, he consented. Arnold could then arrange that, while the place appeared perfectly secure, there might be left an unguarded point by which an enemy could enter. Of this he apprised Major André, with whom he had all along corresponded, at the same time soliciting and pointing out means for a meeting within the American lines. This was effected after some difficulty, and all the necessary arrangements were then made. Circumstances obliged the English officer to return by a circuitous route; but with an escort and Arnold's passport, he succeeded in passing safely all the hostile guards, and had reached a sort of neutral ground, where he appeared quite safe. Suddenly three men rushed out from a wood, stopped his horse, and one presented a pistol to his breast, when erroneously supposing them to be British, he rashly betrayed his own character. They then searched his person, and found papers containing all the particulars of the plot, which, along with the prisoner, were carried to Colonel Jameson, the nearest commandant, who, bewildered and unable to see the bearings of the affair, sent expresses at once to Washington and to Arnold himself. The latter received his while at breakfast, and waiting a visit of inspection from the commander. He suppressed his emotions, and having taken a hurried and agonizing leave of his wife, ran down to the river, threw himself into a boat, and by urgency and promises induced the men to row him down with the utmost rapidity till he got on board a British vessel. Washington was not a little surprised on arriving not to find Arnold, of whom nothing could be learned during the whole forenoon. At four he received Jameson's despatch, when he is said to have displayed the utmost self-

possession, only saying to La Fayette, "Whom can we trust now?"

André, thus placed in the power of his enemies, was considered the most rising young officer in the British army. After a few years' service, Clinton had appointed him adjutant-general, and he had every prospect of rising to the highest commands. His brilliant accomplishments, amiable temper, and engaging manners, rendered him the idol of his brother officers. With a noble though imprudent frankness, he wrote to Washington a statement of all the circumstances, not seemingly dreading that he would be treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. That commander, however, submitted the case to a council of fourteen general officers, who decided that he ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to suffer death. The legality of the sentence was indubitable, since the only plea offered, that he came at the desire and under the flag of an American general, appeared futile when the well-known purpose was considered.

Clinton lavished offers of exchange, and Arnold wrote a violent letter, threatening bloody reprisals; but this rather injured the cause. The only overture made was to take the latter himself in exchange, to which, of course, Clinton could never listen. The captive met his doom with a gentle and heroic fortitude, admired even by those who condemned him. The American writers, while they defend the measure, express deep sympathy in his fate, and have almost indeed canonized his memory.*

This grand project terminated with no other alteration in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a brigadier-general, in the service of the King of Great Britain. The failure of the scheme respecting West Point, made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new masters. The condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something of

* Murray.

consequence. He flattered himself that by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raise a numerous force from among the distressed American soldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples, and working on their passions. His first public measure was issuing an address, directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, five days after André's execution. In this he endeavoured to justify himself for deserting their cause. He said, "that when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object. He however acquiesced in the Declaration of Independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the reasons that were then offered to justify that measure, no longer could exist, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children and to grant the wished for redress. From the refusal of these proposals, and the ratification of the French alliance, all his ideas of the justice and policy of the war were totally changed, and from that time, he had become a professed loyalist." He acknowledged, that "in these principles he had only retained his arms and command, for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain." This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army. This was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal service. He informed them, that he was authorised to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payment for their horses, arms and accoutrements. Rank in the British army was also held out to the American officers, who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military service. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support themselves from their own resources,

while they were spending the prime of their days, and risking their lives in the unproductive service of Congress. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distresses of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentinel or officer. Whether the circumstances of Arnold's case, added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether their providential escape from the deep laid scheme against West Point, gave a higher tone to the firmness of the American soldiery, cannot be unfolded: but either from these or some other causes, desertion wholly ceased at this remarkable period of the war.

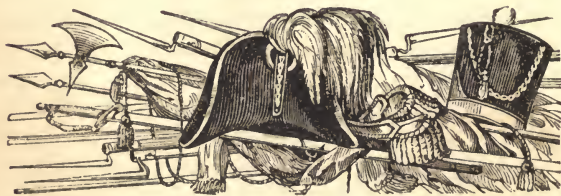
A gallant enterprise of Major Talmadge about this time deserves notice. He crossed the Sound to Long Island with eighty men, made a circuitous march of twenty miles to Fort George, and reduced it without any other loss than that of one private man wounded. He killed and wounded eight of the enemy, captured a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, and fifty-five privates.*

During the winter, Washington was indefatigable in urging Congress and the states to take measures for rendering the army somewhat efficient. His remonstrances, with the shame of a palpable failure before their great ally, roused them to a certain degree of activity. But their finances were in a more desperate state than ever. Their paper had ceased to bear any value; their credit was entirely exhausted; the taxes which could be levied on the people were of small amount, slow and uncertain in collection. There remained no resource unless from foreign courts, whom they had already wearied out by repeated applications. Mr. Jay, nevertheless, was sent to Spain, which, having recently joined the confederacy, and professed great friendship for the new republic, was expected to grant some assistance. That gentleman, however, soon learned that the favour of this as of other courts rested solely upon interest, or even the whim or caprice of statesmen. The Count de Florida Blanca subjected him to a most rigid inter-

* Ramsay.

rogatory as to the resources and prospects of the Union ; and it transpired that the cabinet was very apprehensive of having embarked in a contest in which it would not be duly supported. In this view, the deep financial distress which the solicitation exhibited was very unfavourable. Spain, moreover, earnestly insisted on having ceded to her the course of the Mississippi, and even all the country west of the Alleghany ; a vast prospective object which Jay could not yield. Congress had sent over bills for £100,000, but after the acceptance of an amount of 14,000 dollars, the Spanish purse was closed, and it was necessary to send the rest to Paris in search of better fortune. There, however, Franklin had complained how distressing he found it to be, as he terms it, “ continually worrying the court for money ;” and having sent out at great expense a fleet and an army, it might reasonably claim exemption from farther demands. Congress, in this extremity, sent over on a special mission Colonel Laurens, who by presenting a memorial in person to the king, and even hinting to the minister that America might otherwise be obliged to join Britain, procured a subsidy of 6,000,000 livres (£240,000), with a farther sum by way of loan, and guarantee for a Dutch loan of 5,000,000 guilders (£414,000).*

* Ramsay.





CHAPTER X.

Campaign of 1781.



GENERAL GREENE having been selected in accordance with the wishes of Congress by the commander-in-chief, as a fit officer to take the place of Gates in the command of the southern army, reached its head-quarters at Charlotte in the early part of December, 1780.

About the time of his arrival, an occurrence happened which was considered as a favourable omen by the people, who were the more ready to co-operate with the army. General Morgan and Colonel Washington had been sent against a party of loyalists, who were engaged in preventing the parties of the Americans from foraging. Upon Morgan's approach, the enemy retreated, and he was returning to camp, when he received intelligence of a party stationed at Rugely's farm, about thirteen miles from Camden. Colonel Washington immediately marched against them with his troop, but his force was of no avail, as the enemy were posted in a logged barn, well fortified and inaccessible to cavalry. The trunk of a pine tree was quickly painted and mounted on a carriage so as to resemble a field-piece. A summons to surrender was then sent to the garrison, whilst the supposed cannon was brought to bear upon the barn. Dreading the prospect of a cannonade, Colonel Rugely and his party, to the number of one hundred and twelve men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Soon after, Greene finding his supply of provisions almost exhausted determined to remove to a more plentiful district. Morgan was despatched to take a position near the confluence of the Pacolet and Broad rivers. His force consisted of about three hundred continental troops under Colonel Howard, of Washington's light dragoons, and two companies of Virginia militia, most of whom were veterans. He expected to be joined on Broad river by a body of militia and volunteers under General Davidson. The main body of the army then marched to a place on the Pedee, opposite to the Cheraw Hills. From this position, Greene was enabled to make himself extremely formidable to the loyalists in that section of the country, who were embodying for the aid of Cornwallis. Morgan was supposed to have designs on Ninety-Six, and Tarleton was despatched with about one thousand men, the flower of the British army, to cover that post. Having made preparations to enter North Carolina, Cornwallis ordered Tarleton to make an attack on Morgan, whilst





Engraved & Printed by J. Mearns, 1794.

MAJOR GENL GREENE.

he marched to the north with the main body, recently reinforced with two thousand six hundred men under General Leslie. Tarleton's movements were made with much more rapidity than those of Lord Cornwallis, and he reached the Pacolet, the fords of which Morgan wished to defend on the 16th of January, 1781. Crossing six miles below Morgan's posts, he marched up the river side towards that general's camp. The Americans hastily retreated and Tarleton encamped for the night within the abandoned lines. Flight from an enemy, however famed did not well accord with Morgan's temper, and he determined though inferior in force, to risk a battle. For this purpose he halted at the Cowpens. The militia under General Pickens formed the first line ; the second was composed of the continentals under Colonel Howard. Washington commanded the cavalry which were drawn up as a reserve in the rear of the second line. Meanwhile, Tarleton had left his baggage at three o'clock in the morning, and appeared in front of the American line soon after Morgan's dispositions were completed. Quickly forming his line, he rushed forward to the assault, his troops shouting as they advanced. Two battalions of volunteers, which had been advanced in front of the first line, fell back on Pickens after a single fire. A warm conflict then ensued, the militia being finally driven into the rear of the continentals. Thinking success certain, the British troops advanced in some disorder and were received with a warm fire from the continental troops. Tarleton then ordered up his reserve and some changes were made by Howard in his dispositions which were mistaken for a retreat both by the British and Americans, but the promptness of Morgan repaired the error and secured the victory. Perceiving the disorder, the British pressed on with great eagerness and when within thirty yards of the Americans, a fire from the whole line threw them in their turn into confusion, which Howard improved by a charge with the bayonet. At the same time, the cavalry were defeated by the reserve under Howard under peculiar circumstances. Many of the militia composing the first line under Pickens rode to the ground, tying their

horses to the woods in the rear. When that line was broken, many of them fled to their horses for safety pursued by the British cavalry who had passed the flank of the second line. Washington charged the pursuers with drawn swords, and compelled them to seek safety in flight, but they were soon after strengthened by the remainder of the British cavalry and a sharp struggle ensued. Howard, however, having totally routed the British infantry, came to the support of Washington and Tarleton abandoned the field.

In this action, the British lost one hundred of their number in killed, ten of whom were commissioned officers, and five hundred and twenty-nine prisoners; besides eight hundred stand of arms, two field pieces, thirty-five baggage wagons, one hundred dragoon horses, and two standards. The whole number of killed and wounded on the part of the Americans, amounted to less than eighty. Tarleton, having lost all his light-infantry, and, what was of more consequence, his fame as an invincible partisan officer, bore to head-quarters the first news of his defeat, and the loss of one fifth part of the royal army.*

Cornwallis sought, however, to repair, by active exertions, the loss which he had suffered, and determined, if possible, to intercept Morgan, and compel him to restore the trophies of his victory. This resolution led to a military race, which may be, without exaggeration, termed one of the most celebrated in history. Each army strove to precede the other at the fords of the Catawba, from which both were equally distant. The American troops endured almost incredible hardships, being sometimes without meat, often without flour, and entirely destitute of spirituous liquors. A large portion of the troops were without shoes, and, marching over frozen ground, marked with blood every step of their progress. On the twelfth day after the engagement, Morgan reached the fords and crossed the Catawba; and two hours afterwards Cornwallis arrived, and, it being then dark, encamped on the bank. During the night, a heavy fall of rain made the river

* Marshall. Stedman.

impassable, which gave Morgan an opportunity to remove the prisoners beyond the reach of his pursuer.

The movements of the royal army induced General Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's Creek ; and, leaving the main army under the command of General Huger, he rode a hundred and fifty miles through the country to join the detachment under General Morgan, that he might be in front of Lord Cornwallis, and so direct both divisions of his army as to form a speedy junction between them. Lord Cornwallis, after three days' delay, effected the passage of the Catawba, and recommenced the pursuit. The Americans, continuing their expeditious movements, crossed the Yadkin on the 3d of February, and secured their boats on the north side ; but the British, though close in their rear, were incapable of crossing it through the rapid rising of the river from preceding rains, and the want of boats. This second remarkable escape confirmed the impression on the minds of the Americans, that their cause was favoured by Divine Providence. After a junction of the two divisions of the American army at Guilford court-house, it was concluded, in a council of officers called by General Greene, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement until he should be reinforced. Lord Cornwallis kept the upper countries, where only the rivers are fordable, and attempted to get between General Green and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages ; but the American general completely eluded him. So urgent was the pursuit of the British, that, on the 14th of February, the American light troops were compelled to retire above forty miles ; and on that day General Greene, by indefatigable exertions, transported his army over the Dan into Virginia. Here again the pursuit was so close, that the van of the British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The continental army being now driven out of North Carolina, Earl Cornwallis left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough, where he set up the royal standard. Greene, perceiving the necessity of some spirited measure to counteract his lordship's

influence on the inhabitants of the country, concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. After manœuvring in a very masterly manner to avoid an action with Cornwallis three weeks, his army was joined by two brigades of militia from North Carolina, and one from Virginia, and also by four hundred regulars. This reinforcement giving him a superiority of numbers, he determined no longer to avoid an engagement, and, on the 15th of March, he accepted battle.*

Greene had drawn up his army very judiciously, near Guildford court-house, mostly on a range of hills covered with trees and brushwood. Adopting still the system of making the militia bear the first brunt, he placed that of Carolina in the front, while the Virginian, considered somewhat better, formed the second line, and he remained in the third with the continental troops, in whom alone he placed full confidence. The British, proceeding with impetuosity, and having driven in the advanced guard of cavalry, attacked the Carolina line, who, scarcely discharging their muskets, fled precipitately after the first hostile fire, and many even before. This front having gone for nothing, the next movement was against the Virginians, who stood their ground with some firmness; but being unable to resist the bayonet, which was soon brought against them, they too were put to flight. The assailants then advanced against the third line; but the regiments, having experienced different degrees of resistance, came on impetuously, in an uneven line and some disorder. Greene then felt sanguine hopes, that a steady charge from his chosen troops would turn the fortune of the day. He was dismayed to see the second Maryland regiment give way at once, after which he thought of retiring; but Colonel Gunby at the head of the first gained a decided advantage over the corps under Colonel Stewart, and there followed an obstinate and somewhat desultory contest between the different corps, after which the Americans were compelled to a general retreat. Yet a strong body of riflemen on the left flank kept up a galling fire,

* Hinton.

till Tarleton with the cavalry drove them off the field. In this hard fought battle, the Americans own a loss of three hundred and twenty six killed and wounded, and about eight hundred militia dispersed.

The English victory was dearly earned, the killed and wounded amounting to five hundred and thirty-two, including Colonels Stewart and Webster, two of their best officers, and reducing the effective force below one thousand five hundred. This small corps, too, was in a very reduced and exhausted state. Stedman feelingly describes the hardships endured during the long marches, when, after reaching their nightly quarters in a very fatigued state, they had still to collect cattle and provisions amid woods and swamps, sometimes having beef without bread, sometimes the reverse ; the latter mostly in the shape of Indian corn to be ground down by the joint action of the bayonet and canteen ; not unfrequently it was in the ear, distributed at the rate of five ears between two men. Even after this triumphant day the army was nine miles distant from forage, and had been two days without bread ; while they had not been joined by the native loyalists to any important extent. In short, the English general formed the resolution to fall back upon Wilmington near the mouth of Cape Fear River, which had been occupied by Major Craig, where he could recruit his troops and obtain supplies and reinforcements by sea. Without a minute knowledge of the circumstance, it is impossible to decide, and Cornwallis was never suspected of leaning to timid counsels ; yet we cannot but feel that much ought to have been done and suffered before taking so fatal a step, which involved at least the abandonment of North Carolina.

Greene retreated about fifteen miles ; taking post behind a small stream named Troublesome Creek, where he expected and determined to await an attack ; but was soon agreeably surprised by learning that his antagonist was in full retreat, and had even left eighty wounded, recommended to his care. He immediately set out in pursuit, and after overcoming various obstacles, arrived on the 28th of March at Ramsay's

Mills, on Deep River, where, having learned the direction which the British were taking, he paused for a few days to recruit, and deliberate on his future plans. At Wilmington, the hostile army would be in communication with the sea, of which they were then masters ; so that there no serious impression could be made upon them ; and if they received reinforcements, serious danger might be incurred. He formed, therefore, the bold but able resolution of carrying the war into South Carolina, to which he was now nearer than his adversary, and where Lord Rawdon (afterwards Marquis of Hastings) had been left with only the force that appeared necessary to keep down insurrection. Directing his march immediately to this quarter, he made some progress before the tidings reached Lord Cornwallis, by whom this movement appears to have been quite unexpected. He now, however, considered that it was impossible to reach the American army till the collision had taking place between it and Lord Rawdon ; and if the latter should retreat upon Charleston, he himself could reach the scene of action only by a long and difficult march, crossing several broad rivers, and exposed to attack in disadvantageous positions. He resolved, in preference, to advance in the opposite direction upon Virginia, where, uniting himself to considerable forces already assembled, he might make the cause decidedly preponderant. He hoped thus to recall Greene ; or, at all events, by conquering that great and important colony, to secure the ultimate subjugation of the southern states.*

Greene, without regard to the movements of his opponent, pushed on to his destination. The militia having either deserted, or their term of service being expired, his force was reduced to one thousand eight hundred men ; but those, in fact, included all on whom he could ever place much dependence. Approaching Camden, he found it occupied by Rawdon, with about eight hundred men, the other troops being employed upon the defence of detached posts ; yet his position was judged so strong as to afford no hope of success

* Murray.

in a direct attack. The object aimed at was, by throwing out detachments which might capture the forts, and cut off the supplies in his rear, to compel him gradually to fall back. Lee, for this purpose, was sent with a strong party to co-operate with Marion and Sumpter. The English general, seeing the troops thus reduced to about one thousand five hundred, formed the bold resolution of attacking them. Making a large circuit round a swamp, he came upon the left flank when they quickly stood to their arms, and formed in order of battle. They had even gained some advantages, when the 1st Maryland regiment, considered the flower of the army, and which had highly distinguished itself both at Cowpens and Guildford, fell into confusion ; and when ordered to make a retrograde movement, converted it into a complete retreat. The other corps, also, beginning to give ground, Greene thought it expedient to cause the whole to retire. The loss on each side was about two hundred and sixty killed and wounded ; and the Americans carried off fifty prisoners.

Though the British claimed the victory, Greene could still maintain his position, and support the detachments operating in the rear of his adversary. Lee and Marion proceeded first against Fort Watson on the Santee, which commanded in a great measure the communication with Charleston. Having neither artillery nor besieging tools, they reared a tower above the level of the rampart, whence their rifles' fire drove the defenders, and they themselves then mounted and compelled the garrison to surrender. They could not, however, prevent Colonel Watson from leading five hundred men to reinforce Lord Rawdon, who then advanced with the intention of bringing Greene again to action, but found him fallen back upon so strong a position, as to afford no reasonable hopes of success. His lordship finding his convoys intercepted, and viewing the generally insecure state of his posts in the lower country, considered himself under at least the temporary necessity of retreating thither. He had first in view the relief of Motte's house on the Congaree ; but before reaching it, had the mortification to find that, with the garrison of one

hundred and sixty-five, it had fallen into the hands of Marion and Lee. He continued his march to Monk's Corner, where he covered Charleston and the surrounding country. The partisan chiefs rapidly seized this opportunity of attacking the interior posts, and reduced successively Orangeburg, Granby on the Congaree, and Augusta, the key of upper Georgia. In these five forts they made eleven hundred prisoners. The most important one, however, was that named Ninety-six, on the Saluda, defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Orders had been sent to them to quit and retire downwards; but the messenger was intercepted; and Colonel Cruger, the commander, made the most active preparations for its defence. Greene considered the place of such importance, that he undertook the siege in person, with a thousand regulars. He broke ground before it on the night of the 23d of May, and though much impeded by a successful sally on the following day, proceeded with such energy, that by the 3d of June, the second parallel was completed, and the garrison summoned, but in vain, to surrender. On the 8th, he was reinforced by Lee, from the capture of Augusta; and though he encountered a most gallant and effective resistance, trusted that the place must in due time fall. Three days after, however, he learned that Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was in full march to relieve it, and had baffled the attempts of Sumpter to impede his progress. The American leader, therefore, feeling himself unable to give battle, saw no prospect of carrying the fortress unless by storm. On the 18th, an attack against the two most commanding outworks was led by Lee and Campbell, the former of whom carried his point; but the latter, though he penetrated into the ditch, and maintained his party there for three quarters of an hour, found them exposed to so destructive a fire as compelled a general retreat. The siege was immediately raised, and Lord Rawdon, on the 21st, entered the place in triumph. Being again master of the field, he pressed forward in the hope of bringing his antagonist to battle; but the latter rather chose to fall back towards the distant point of Charlotte in Virginia,

while Rawdon did not attempt to pursue him beyond the Ennoree.

Notwithstanding this present superiority, his lordship, having failed in his hopes of a decisive victory, and viewing the general aspect of the country, considered it no longer possible to attempt more than covering the lower districts of South Carolina. He therefore fell back to Orangeburg on the Edisto; and though he attempted at first to maintain Cruger with a strong body at Ninety-six, was soon induced to recall him. Greene, being reinforced by one thousand men under Marion and Sumpter, reconnoitred his position, but judged it imprudent to attack; and both armies, exhausted by such a series of active movements, took an interval of repose during the heat of the season.

Lord Rawdon, being at this time obliged by ill health to return home, left the army under Colonel Stuart, who, to cover the lower country, occupied a position at the point where the Congaree and Wateree unite in forming the Santee. Greene, having received reinforcements from the north, and collected all his partisan detachments, found himself strong enough to try the chance of battle. His approach with this evident view induced the other party to retire forty miles down the river, to the strong post of Eutaw, whither Greene immediately followed by slow and easy marches. On the 8th of September, he determined to attack the British camp, placing as usual his militia in front, hoping that the English, in beating and pursuing them, would at least get into confusion; but from this very dread, the latter had been warned to keep their posts till ordered to move. The American front, however, maintained their ground better than usual, and the British, before beating them, became heated, and forgetful of the warnings given, pushed forward irregularly. They were then charged by the veterans in the second line, and after a very desperate struggle, driven off the field. There lay in their way, however, a large brick building and adjacent garden, where Stuart placed a strong corps, who could not be dislodged, and kept up a deadly fire, which checked the vic-

tors, enabling the retreating troops to be formed anew. At the same time, Colonel Washington attacked the British flank; but finding it strongly posted among woods, he was repulsed with loss, and himself taken prisoner. The American general, seeing no hope of making any further impression, retreated to his previous position. In this bloody battle, both parties claimed the victory. It was certainly far from decisive; and the enemy's loss of eighty-five killed and six hundred and eight wounded was about twice that of the Americans, who carried off also above two hundred prisoners. The British commander then formed a resolution, prompted both by the result of the day, and the general state of the upper country, and the numbers and activity of the American light troops. Conceiving himself unable to maintain so advanced a position, he moved to Monk's Corner, where he merely covered Charleston and its vicinity. Seventy wounded and one thousand stand of arms were left behind on the march. To this post and to Savannah were now limited British authority, which had lately extended so widely over the southern states.*

In the belief that it would be satisfactory to the reader to trace this eventful campaign in the south continuously, rather than in fragments intermingled with other subjects, we have thus been led to anticipate the order of time, and must now go back to trace the course of events in the more central parts of the theatre of war.

When the winter of 1780 commenced, the troops of the northern army retired to the quarters which they had last occupied. Again they endured distress at which patriotism feels indignant and humanity weeps. The harvest had been abundant; plenty reigned in the land, while want was still felt in the camp of its defenders. Lassitude had succeeded enthusiasm, in the breasts of the people, and Congress exerted its powers with too little vigour to draw forth the resources of the country. The soldiers of the Pennsylvania line stationed at Morristown, New Jersey, complained that, in



addition to sustaining sufferings common to all, they were retained in service contrary to the terms of their enlistments. In the night of the 1st of January, thirteen hundred, on a concerted signal, paraded under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Philadelphia, and demanding of Congress a redress of their grievances. The officers strove to compel them to relinquish their purpose. In the attempt, one was killed, and several were wounded. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if intending to fire. They held their bayonets to his breast; "We love and respect you," said they; "but if you fire you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy. On the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever. But we will be amused no longer; we are determined to obtain what is our just due." They elected temporary officers, and moved off in a body towards Princeton. General Wayne, to prevent them from plundering the inhabitants, forwarded provisions for their use. The next day he followed, and requested them to appoint a man from each regiment, to state to him their complaints; a conference was accordingly held, but he refused to comply with their demands. They then proceeded in good order to Princeton, where three emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton met them, and made liberal offers to entice them from the service of Congress. The offers were indignantly rejected, and the emissaries seized and executed as spies. Here they were also met by a committee of Congress, and a deputation from the state of Pennsylvania; and the latter, granting a part of their demands, succeeded in persuading them to return to their duty. This mutiny, and another in the Jersey line, which was instantly suppressed, aroused the attention of the states to the miserable condition of their troops. The amount of three months' pay was raised and forwarded to them in specie; it was received with joy, as affording an evidence that their country was not unmindful of their sufferings.

Deplorably deficient of provisions and supplies, and promised reinforcements being previously delayed, Washington

still remained undiscouraged, and determined, in conjunction with the French fleet, to resume vigorous operations. New York was the destined point of the combined attack ; but the large reinforcements which had recently arrived there, and other unfavourable circumstances, induced the commander-in-chief, so late as August, entirely to change the plan of the campaign, and to resolve to attempt the capture of the army of Lord Cornwallis, which had now taken up a position at Yorktown, in Virginia. The defence of West Point, and of the other posts on the Hudson, was committed to General Heath, and a large portion of the troops raised in the northern states was for this service left under his command. General Washington resolved in person to conduct the Virginia expedition.

Virginia had insensibly, as it were, become a principal theatre of war. Leslie, had been sent thither to reinforce Cornwallis, who, it was hoped, might penetrate through the Carolinas ; but, after Ferguson's disaster, he was ordered to go round by Charleston. With the view, however, of creating a diversion in favour of the southern army, Clinton, in December 1780, sent Arnold with one thousand six hundred men to the Chesapeake. That officer, displaying all his wonted activity, overran a great extent of country, and captured Richmond, the capital, destroying great quantities of stores. Washington, most anxious to strike a blow against him, prevailed upon Destouches, the French admiral, to proceed thither with a land-force ; but the latter was overtaken by Arbuthnot, and endured a hard battle, which, though not admitted to be a defeat, obliged him to return. Clinton, still with the same view, sent another force of two thousand men, under General Philips, which arrived in the Chesapeake on the 26th of March. This officer, being complete master of the field, overran the country between the James and York rivers, seized the large town of Petersburg, as also Chesterfield court-house, the militia rendezvous, and other stations, destroying great quantities of shipping and stores, with all the warehoused tobacco. La-

fayette being sent against him, added to his force about two thousand militia, and succeeded by good dispositions in securing Richmond. Operations seemed at a stand, when intelligence was received of Cornwallis' march into this territory; and, in spite of every effort of the French general, he, in the end of May, joined Phillips at Petersburg, taking the command of the whole army. Being then decidedly superior, he took possession of Richmond, and began a hot pursuit of Lafayette, who retreated into the upper country so rapidly and so skilfully, that he could not be overtaken. The English general then turned back, and sent a detachment under Colonel Simcoe, who destroyed a magazine at the junction of the two branches of James River. Tarleton pushed his cavalry so swiftly upon Charlotteville, where the state assembly was met, that seven members were taken, and the rest very narrowly escaped. Lafayette, however, now returned with a considerable force, and, by his manœuvres, induced the British commander to retire to Williamsburg. He afterwards continued his retreat to Portsmouth, in the course of which an attack, was made by Wayne with eight hundred men on the whole British army. The gallant general however escaped with little loss.

The movement of Cornwallis into Virginia had been wholly disapproved by Clinton, who complained that, contrary to all his views and intentions, the main theatre of war had been transferred to a territory, into which he never proposed more than partial inroads, considering it very difficult to subdue and maintain. His grand object had always been, first to secure New York, and if sufficient strength was afforded, to push offensive operations thence into the interior. Hoping, therefore, that the Carolinas, once subdued, might be retained by a small force, he had repeatedly solicited the partial return of the troops. Cornwallis defended the movement by observing, that his situation at Wilmington, allowing no time to send for instructions, obliged him to act on his own responsibility. Communicating also with the government at home, he urged that the Carolinas could not be securely held without the

possession also of Virginia; that this might be attained by a vigorous effort, and would make Britain mistress of all the fine southern colonies, whose resources could be then employed in conquering the more stubborn regions of the north. These arguments, recommended by his lordship's brilliant achievements at Camden and elsewhere, convinced the ministry; and Lord Germaine wrote to the commander-in-chief to direct his principal attention to the war in Virginia, and to the plan of conquest from south to north. The latter, considering himself thus slighted, solicited permission to resign, and leave the command to an officer who enjoyed greater confidence; but his merits being highly estimated, this tender was not accepted.

Under the apprehension inspired by the threatening movements of Washington and the French army against New York, he had ordered a considerable reinforcement from Virginia, but countermanded it on receiving the above instructions, along with an additional body of troops. He had formed apparently a favourite plan, somewhat of a compromise between the two. It is nowhere distinctly developed in his letters; but by a passage in one, very active operations were proposed at the head of the Chesapeake, to be combined probably with a movement from New York, and comprehending Philadelphia and Baltimore. Aware that this plan required the maritime command of that great inlet, he inquired if ministers would ensure its maintenance; and they made this engagement without duly considering its difficulties. Under these views, he directed Cornwallis to occupy and fortify a naval position at the entrance of the bay, specially recommending Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of James River. This measure did not harmonize with Cornwallis's views: however he obeyed; but the above position being declared by the engineers indefensible, he recommended, in preference, York, on the river of that name; which was agreed to, and operations actively commenced.

Washington, meantime, had been meditating movements in Virginia, and had solicited De Grasse, then in the West

Indies, to secure for him at least a temporary command of the Chesapeake. After the failure of his efforts and hopes in regard to New York, this became his main object. With the highest satisfaction he received the intimation, that, on the 3d of August, the French admiral, with above twenty five ships of the line and three thousand two hundred troops, would sail for the Chesapeake, and remain there till the middle of October. No hesitation was then made in commencing a movement upon Virginia with the whole French army and a strong detachment of the American. It was impossible that so great a movement could be concealed; but the utmost pains were taken to lead Clinton into the belief that its object was New York. This was the less difficult, as the American commander's aims and efforts had long been really turned in that direction, and his opponent had felt extremely sensitive on that subject. The crossing of the Hudson, and the march down its right bank, might have been undertaken with either design. Letters were written, and contrived to be intercepted, tending to confirm the deception. It was not till the 31st of August that the allied force took their direct route to the Chesapeake: they had then an easy march to the head of that estuary, down which they would be conveyed in transports to Lord Cornwallis' position, which could be reached from New York only amid the uncertainties of a maritime voyage, and the access, it was hoped, blocked up by a superior fleet. In fact, De Grasse, with twenty-eight sail of the line, had entered it in the end of August. Rodney had been opposed to him in the West Indies; but imagining that a great part of the French fleet must have been sent to protect a convey going to Europe, he himself took that direction, and sent only fourteen sail, under Admiral Hood, to New York. That officer there came under the command of his senior, Admiral Graves, who, having nineteen vessels, hesitated not to sail for the Chesapeake, to attack the superior force of De Grasse. He found it ranged across the entrance, and an obstinate contest ensued, with various and on the whole indecisive results. Then, however, Barras from Newport brought a reinforcement,

which rendered the French force so decidedly superior, that Graves was obliged to return.

Amid all these movements, it was not till the 6th of September that Clinton became fully aware of Washington's destination, and of the extreme danger to which Cornwallis would thus be exposed. He then wrote to that nobleman, pointing out the circumstances, and proposing, as the only mode of relieving him, that he himself should sail from New York, and join him with a reinforcement of four thousand troops. This course implied that the Virginian army should meantime remain on the defensive in its present position. It appears to us manifest that the plan involved a capital error; and that the only assured safety for that army was to have instantly commenced a rapid retreat upon Charleston. It would then have been in a much stronger position, and could either have retired or been reinforced by sea. Clinton's plan depended on the uncertain operations of a fleet, which had, moreover, to defeat or elude a superior one; while the army, when landed, would have had to cut its way through another three times more numerous. Afterwards, when it became evident that the march southwards would have been the eligible course, he insisted that there was nothing to preclude its having been followed by Cornwallis, who, in his separate command, had been allowed, and had most liberally exercised, a discretionary power. His lordship, however, seems reasonably to urge, that the case was very different when he had a letter from his commander-in-chief, written in full knowledge of all the circumstances, and pointing out as the only eligible course one in which he himself was preparing to act a part. Not to have co-operated with him, but to have followed a plan directly opposite, would have been completely to disregard his authority; while an awful responsibility would have been incurred in the abandonment of his posts, stores, and hospitals, in a rapid retreat before a superior opponent.

He continued, therefore, in his position at York, while perils thickened around him. Washington, dreading chiefly

the march southward, directed Lafayette to take post at Williamsburg, where he himself arrived on the 14th of September. Tarleton, ever enterprising, urged an attack upon this force while still inferior to the British ; but this was declined ; and indeed it should seem that such able commanders would easily have avoided fighting in a disadvantageous position by retreating behind the broad estuary of James River. The successive divisions, descending the Chesapeake, continued to arrive at Williamsburg, where, on the 25th of September, the last of them landed, raising the army to seven thousand French, five thousand five hundred American regulars, and three thousand five hundred militia. On the 28th, this force broke up and moved towards York, which the British commander had been diligently fortifying, while a smaller post was maintained at Gloucester, on the opposite side of the river. He had formed an outer circuit of intrenched lines ; but these, during the evening of the 29th, he abandoned, retiring within the body of the fort. He had just, however, received a letter from Clinton, intimating a full expectation of sailing on the 5th of October, or at most, two or three days later ; and judging the works fully sufficient to hold out till his arrival, dreaded loss and peril from encountering, even within lines, so superior an enemy.

The operations of the besieging army were confined to a strict blockade till the 6th of October, when the artillery and military stores arrived in the camp. On the evening of that day the first parallel was begun with silence and caution, and before morning was so far advanced as in a great measure to cover the troops. All being felt to depend upon rapidity, operations were pushed with the utmost ardour, and the two nations were incited to a rivalry in deeds of valour. By the 10th, the fire had become formidable ; a number of the enemy's batteries were silenced, and a frigate and three transports in the harbour set on fire and consumed. On the night of the 11th, the second parallel was commenced, and had the same success as the first, of being undiscovered till morning. Three days were devoted to its completion ; but the British,

having with great labour opened several new batteries, then poured in a heavy fire. That in particular from two redoubts was so destructive, that without carrying them, the siege could not be prosecuted. This grand operation was fixed for the night of the 14th, when one fort was undertaken by the French under the Baron de Viomenil, the other by the Americans under Lafayette, aided by Colonels Hamilton and Laurens. The latter rushed on with such impetuosity, that, without firing a gun, they soon carried the post, making twenty prisoners, though losing forty killed and wounded. The French encountered a stronger resistance, and suffered the loss of about a hundred, but finally carried their redoubt also.

Cornwallis now perceived that a surrender was rapidly approaching. He endeavoured to retard it by a sally, on the morning of the 16th, of three hundred and fifty men under Colonel Abercrombie, who carried the two most advanced batteries, but could not retain them for a sufficient time to complete their destruction. On the following night, the enemy determined to cross to the northern bank, and endeavour to force a way by land to New York. The boats were collected with the greatest secrecy, the first embarkation completed, and even the landing commenced, when a violent tempest of wind and rain interrupted the movement, and obliged the troops to employ all their efforts in regaining the fortress. On the following day, all the batteries of the second parallel were finished, and began to play with such tremendous effect, that, in the opinion of the officers and engineers, the place was no longer tenable. Cornwallis therefore opened a negotiation for surrender, on the basis of the garrison being sent to Europe and remaining on parole until released or exchanged; but Washington would admit only of unconditional surrender. It was agreed, however, that the officers should be allowed the honours of war, with their arms and baggage; and that the Bonetta sloop of war should be permitted to go unsearched, with the understood view of placing in security those civil officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the United States government. On these conditions, the capitulation was



Engraved by J. H. W. for J. B. S.

MAJOR GENL. H. KNOX.



signed on the morning of the 19th. The prisoners surrendered were seven thousand and seventy three, of whom, however, only four thousand and seventeen were fit for duty.

Clinton, meantime, had not been forgetful of his promises; but the British fleet had been so much shattered in the late engagement, that some preparation was necessary to fit it for sailing. It was, however, resolved, at a general meeting both of the military and naval commanders, that the 5th of October should be fixed as the period for this movement; and he had therefore a reasonable expectation of fulfilling his promise. On the 28th of September, he addressed a letter to Admiral Graves on this important point, who replied that the fleet could not sail till the 8th; it did not, however, depart till the 19th, the very day on which the capitulation was signed.*

The capture of so large a British army excited universal joy, and on no occasion during the war did the Americans manifest greater exultation. From the nature and duration of the contest, the affections of many had been so concentrated upon their country, and so intense was their interest in its fate, that the news of this brilliant success produced the most,

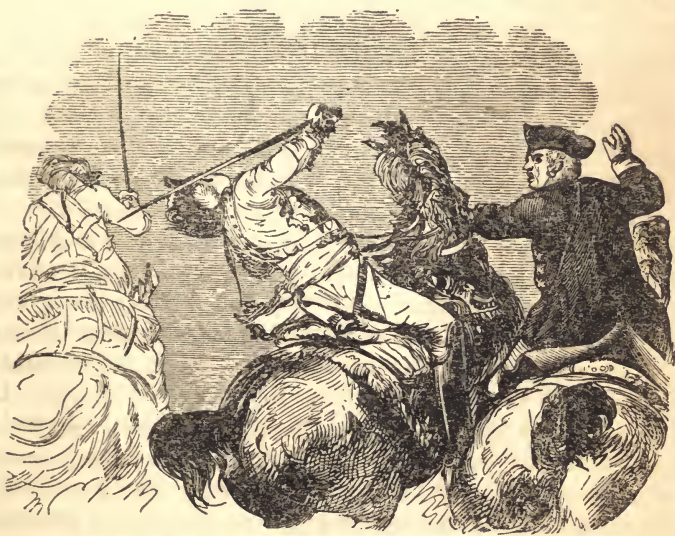
* To the successful results of this memorable siege, the last brilliant act of our revolutionary contest, no officer contributed more essentially than General Knox, the commander of the artillery. His animated exertions, his military skill, his cool and determined bravery in this triumphant struggle, received the unanimous approbation of his brethren in arms, and he was immediately created Major-general by Congress, at the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the whole army. In fact Knox was the most trusted and valued friend of Washington through the whole war, and there can be no higher testimony to his merits, than that, during a war of so long continuance, passed almost constantly in the presence of Washington, he uniformly retained his confidence and esteem, which at their separation had ripened into friendship and affection. The parting interview between General Knox and his illustrious and beloved chief, after the evacuation of New York by the British and Knox had taken possession of it at the head of a detachment of our army was inexpressibly affecting. The hour of their separation having arrived, Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand and embraced him in silence, and tears. His letters, to the last moment of his life, contain the most flattering expressions of his unabated friendship.

rapturous emotions, under the operations of which, it is said, some were even deprived of their reason, and one aged patriot in Philadelphia expired. The day after the capitulation, General Washington ordered, "that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty;" and announced, that "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander-in-chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour claims." Congress, as soon as they received General Washington's official letter giving information of the event, resolved to go in procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God for the signal success of the American arms; and they issued a proclamation, recommending to the citizens of the United States to observe the 13th of December as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer.

While these successful operations had been carrying on in Virginia, Sir Henry Clinton endeavoured, if possible, to recall Washington, or at least to divert his attention, by some daring enterprise in the north. Giving to the traitor Arnold, who had just returned from his destructive expedition to Virginia, the command of a strong detachment, he sent him against New London, a flourishing city situated upon the river Thames, in his native state. Nearly opposite, on a hill in Groton, stood Fort Griswold, which was then garrisoned by militia, hastily summoned from their labours in the field. Against this fort, Arnold despatched a part of his troops. It was assaulted on three sides at the same moment. The garrison, fighting in view of their property and their homes, made a brave and obstinate resistance. By their steady and well directed fire many of the assailants were killed. Pressing forward with persevering ardour, the British entered the fort through the embrasures. Immediately all resistance ceased. Irritated by gallantry which should have caused admiration, a British officer inquired who commanded the fort. "I did,"

said Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now;" and presented him his sword. He seized it, and, with savage cruelty, plunged it into his bosom. This was the signal for an indiscriminate massacre. Of one hundred and sixty men, composing the garrison, all but forty were killed or wounded, and most of them after resistance had ceased. Seldom has the glory of victory been tarnished by such detestable barbarity. The British then entered New London, which was set on fire and consumed. The property destroyed was of immense value. Perceiving no other object within the reach of his force, Arnold led back his troops to New York.*

* Hinton.



DEATH OF COLONEL STEWART AT THE BATTLE OF GUILDFORD.



CHAPTER XI.

Close of the Revolution.



ALTHOUGH the battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in the South, yet after that period several small enterprises were executed by the partisans on both sides.

In the close of the year 1781, when the successes of the American army had confined the late conquerors to the vicinity of Charleston, a desperate band of tories adopted the infernal scheme of taking their last revenge, by carrying fire and sword into the settlements of the whig militia. To this end Major William Cunningham, of the British militia, collected a party, and having furnished them with every thing necessary for laying waste the country, sallied from Charleston. He and his associates concealed themselves till they arrived in the back settlements, far in the rear of the American army, and there began to plunder, burn and murder. In the unsuspecting hour of sleep, and domestic security, they entered the houses of the solitary farmers, and sacrificed to their re-

venge the obnoxious head of the family. Their cruelties induced some small parties to associate and arm in self-defence. Captain Turner and twenty men had, on these principles, taken post in a house, and defended themselves till their ammunition was nearly expended. After which they surrendered on receiving assurances that they should be treated as prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this solemn agreement, Captain Turner and his party were put to instant death by Cunningham and the men under his command. Soon after this massacre, the same party of tories attacked a number of the American militia, in the district of Ninety-six, commanded by Colonel Hayes, and set fire to the house in which they had taken shelter. The only alternative left was either to be burned, or to surrender themselves prisoners. The last being preferred, Colonel Hayes, and Captain Daniel Williams were hung at once on the pole of a fodder-stack. This breaking, they both fell, on which Major William Cunningham cut them into pieces with his own sword, when, turning upon the others, he continued on them the operations of his savage barbarity, till the powers of nature being exhausted, and his enfeebled limbs refusing to administer any longer to his insatiate fury, he called upon his comrades to complete the dreadful work by killing whichsoever of the prisoners they pleased. They instantly put to death such of them as they personally disliked. Only two fell in action, but fourteen were deliberately cut to pieces after their surrender.

About the same time, and under the same influence, emissaries from the British induced the Cherokee Indians to commence hostilities. Early in the year 1781 General Greene had concluded a treaty with them, by which they had engaged to observe a neutrality. This was attended with the beneficial effect of saving the frontier settlements both in North and South Carolina from their incursions, while the inhabitants were left at full liberty to concentrate their force against the army under the command of Lord Cornwallis. When the co-operation of the Indians could be of the least service to the British forces, they were induced to break through their en-

gements of neutrality. They, with a number of disguised white men, who called themselves the King's friends, made an incursion into the district of Ninety-six, massacred some families, and burned several houses. General Pickens collected a party of the American militia, and penetrated into the settlements of the Cherokees. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of three hundred and ninety-four horsemen. In that short space he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a greater number prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions carried on against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as the present one. General Pickens did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped, after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting the savages was introduced. Instead of firing, the American militia rushed forward on horseback, and charged with drawn swords. This was the second time during the American war that the Cherokee Indians had been chastised in their own settlements, in consequence of suffering themselves to be excited by British emissaries to commence hostilities against their white neighbours. They again sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and obtained it, after promising that, instead of listening to the advice of the loyalists instigating them to war, they would deliver those of them that visited their settlements, on that errand, to the authority of the state.

In consequence of these civil wars between the whigs and tories—the incursions of the savages—and the other calamities resulting from the operations of the British and American armies, South Carolina exhibited scenes of distress which were shocking to humanity. Nor is it wonderful that the country was involved in such accumulated distress. The American government was suspended, and the British conquerors were careless of the civil rights of the inhabitants. They conducted as though interior order and police were scarcely objects of attention. The will of the strongest was the law. Such was the general complexion of those who

called themselves royalists, that nothing could be expected from them, unrestrained as they were by civil government, but outrages against the peace and order of society. Though among the tories in the lower parts of South Carolina there were gentlemen of honour, principle and humanity, yet, in the interior and back parts of the state, a great proportion of them was an ignorant unprincipled banditti, to whom idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence, were familiar. Horse-thieves and others, whose crimes had exiled them from society, and attached themselves to parties of the British. Encouraged by their example, and instigated by the love of plunder, they committed the most extensive depredations. Under the cloak of attachment to the old government, they covered the basest and most selfish purposes. The necessity which their indiscriminate plundering imposed on all good men of defending themselves, did infinitely more damage to the royal cause than was compensated by all the advantages resulting from their friendship. They could scarcely ever be brought to the field of battle. They sometimes furnished the British army with intelligence and provisions, but on all other accounts their services were of very little importance.

From among a variety of projects which were undertaking by detached parties of Americans, in the year 1782, the following is selected as meriting particular notice. On the nineteenth of March Captain Rudolph, of Lee's legion, and Lieutenant Smith, of the Virginia line, with twelve men, captured and burned the British galley Alligator, lying in Ashley river, which mounted twelve guns, besides a variety of swivels, and was manned with forty-three seamen. The Americans had the address to pass themselves for negroes who were coming to market with poultry. They were therefore permitted to come so near the galley that they boarded her with ease, while their adversaries suspected no danger. Three or four of the British were killed, and twenty-eight were brought off prisoners.

After General Greene moved from the high hills of Santee into the low country near Charleston, a scene of inactivity

succeeded different from the busy operations of the late campaign. He was unable to attempt any thing against the British within their lines; and they declined risking any general action without them.

While the American soldiers lay encamped in this inactive situation, their tattered rags were so completely worn out, that seven hundred of them were as naked as they were born, excepting a small slip of cloth about their waists; and they were nearly as destitute of meat as of clothing. In this condition they lay for three months within four hours march of the British garrison in Charleston, which contained in it more regular troops than there were continentals in the American army. Though they had abundant reason to complain, yet, while they were every day marching, and almost every week fighting, they were in good health, good spirits, and good humour; but when their enemy was confined within their fortifications, and they were inactive, they became sickly and discontented, and a few began to be mutinous. Their long arrears of pay, the deficiency of their clothing, and their want of many comforts, were forgotten whilst constant action employed their minds and bodies; but when an interruption of hostilities gave them leisure to brood over their calamities, these evils were presented to their imaginations in the most aggravated colours. A plan was seriously laid to deliver their gallant and victorious leader into the hands of the British; but the whole design was happily discovered and prevented from being carried into execution. To the honour of the continental army, it may with justice be added, that, notwithstanding the pressure of their many sufferings, the whole number concerned in this plot did not exceed twelve.

In the course of the year 1782, John Mathews, Esq., governor of South Carolina, concerted measures with some of the citizens in Charleston, who wished to make their peace with their countrymen, for sending out of the British lines necessary clothing for the almost naked continentals. When their distresses had nearly arrived to that point beyond which human nature can bear no more, Mr. Joshua Lockwood,

under the direction of Governor Mathews, brought out of Charleston a large quantity of the articles which were most needed in the American camp. This seasonable supply, though much short of their due, quieted the minds of the suffering soldiers. Tranquillity and good order were restored in the camp, and duty was cheerfully performed.*

The result of the campaign of 1781, convinced the British nation that America could not be subdued by force; and led to a change of administration and pacific overtures. A new administration was soon after formed—the Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury, and the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox held the important places of secretaries of state.

Soon after their appointment, the new ministers sent a Mr. Oswald to France, to sound the French court, as well as Dr. Franklin, on the subject of peace. In a conference with the Count de Vergennes, Mr. Oswald was informed that the French court were disposed to treat for peace, but could do nothing without the consent of their allies; and the count expressed a wish that Paris might be the place of meeting for entering upon this important business. About the 18th of April the British agent went back to London, and on the 4th of May returned to France with the assent of the British cabinet to treat of a general peace, and for that purpose to meet at Paris.

One of the first measures of the new administration, was to appoint Sir Guy Carlton commander-in-chief in America, in the room of Sir Henry Clinton, and to authorize Admiral Digby and himself to treat for peace. One object of conferring this power was to induce Congress to agree to a separate treaty. Sir Guy Carleton arrived in America on the 5th of May, and two days afterwards informed General Washington, that he and Admiral Digby were authorized to treat for peace, and requested a passport for their secretary, as the bearer of despatches to Congress on the subject. A copy of this letter was forwarded by the general to that body; but

* Ramsay.

the members being determined not to negotiate without their allies, refused the passport.

A majority of the new British cabinet very early determined to offer America unlimited unconditional independence, as the basis of a negotiation for peace, and so instructed their minister, Mr. Grenville.

The instructions of Congress to the American commissioners not to conclude peace without the consent of France, rendered their situation complicated and embarrassing. There were several questions which the Americans deemed of the first importance, in which the French court either felt no interest, or were opposed to the American claims. The principal of these points referred to the right of fishery on the Grand Bank, and the western boundary of the United States. On the latter point, Spain, who was also a party to the negotiations, was extremely desirous of limiting as much as possible the extent of the American territory. These circumstances occasioned much difficulty and considerable delay. At length the American commissioners determined to agree to a provisional treaty without the concurrence of the French court. Mr. Oswald, who had succeeded Mr. Grenville, on the part of the British government, strongly urged the propriety of the American loyalists being compensated for the losses they had incurred during the struggle for independence ; but this proposition was met by a counter one from Dr. Franklin, that a similar arrangement should be made by Great Britain in favour of the Americans who had suffered in their property from the destruction carried on by the British troops. This point was therefore ultimately waived, and other difficulties being overcome, a provisional treaty was agreed to on the 30th of November ; and after great delay, occasioned by the strenuous endeavours of the court of Madrid to procure the cession of Gibraltar by Great Britain, preliminary treaties of peace were signed on the 20th of January, 1783, between France, Spain, and Great Britain.

On the 24th of March, intelligence of a general peace reached America by a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette ;

and orders were immediately issued, recalling all armed vessels cruising under the authority of the United States. Congress soon after received official information of the agreement between the ministers of the United States and Great Britain, and of the exchange of ratifications of the preliminary articles between Great Britain and France ; and, on the 11th of April, they issued a proclamation, declaring the cessation of arms, as well by sea as by land, agreed upon between the United States and his Britannic Majesty, and enjoining its strict observance. On the 19th of April, peace was proclaimed in the American army by the commander-in-chief, precisely eight years from the day of the first effusion of blood at Lexington.

The independence of the United States was acknowledged by Sweden, on the 5th of February ; by Denmark, on the 25th of February ; by Spain, on the 24th of March ; and by Russia, in July ; treaties of amity and commerce were also concluded with each of those powers. On the 8th of June, General Washington addressed a letter to each of the governors of the several states in the union, on the present situation, and what appeared to him the wisest policy, of the United States. In this paternal and affectionate letter, he stated four things which he conceived to be essential to their well-being, and even to their existence, as an independent power : “ An indissoluble union of the states under one general head ; a sacred regard to public justice ; the adoption of a proper peace establishment ; and the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition, among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community. These,” he added, “ are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independence and national character must be supported.” Having requested that each governor would communicate these sentiments to his legislature at their next meeting, and that they might be considered “ as the legacy of

one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction upon it ;” he concluded his letter in language becoming a Christian patriot, and worthy of perpetual remembrance: “I now make it my earnest prayer that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection, that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government ; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field ; and, finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, without an humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation.”

The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America was signed at Paris on the 3d of September, by David Hartley, Esq., on the part of his Britannic Majesty, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, on the part of the United States. The provisions of the treaty attest the zeal and ability of the American negotiators, as well as the liberal feelings which actuated the British ministry. The independence of the United States was fully acknowledged. The right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and certain facilities in the enjoyment of that right, were secured to them for ever ; and territory was ceded to them more extensive than the most sanguine had dared to anticipate or to hope.

While the negotiations were pending, the American troops were retained in service, but remained unemployed at their various stations. They saw with pleasure the end of their toils approaching, but apprehended that their country, when she no longer needed their services, would forget with what zeal and fidelity they had been rendered. The officers, espe-

cially, dreaded that, after having, for want of pay, expended their private fortunes, and after having exhausted their strength in the performance of arduous and protracted services, they should be dismissed in poverty, without any secure provision for their future support. In the course of the war, a resolution had been adopted by Congress, stipulating that the officers, after being disbanded, should receive half-pay for life. This resolution had never been ratified by the requisite number of states, and no safe reliance could therefore be placed upon it. In December, 1782, the officers forwarded to Congress a petition, praying that all arrears which were due to them might be discharged, and that, instead of half-pay for life, a sum equal to five years' full pay should be paid or secured to them when disbanded. The delay of Congress to comply with this request produced an alarming agitation in that portion of the army stationed at Newburgh. An address to the officers was privately circulated, written with great ability, and admirably well fitted to work upon those passions which recent sufferings and gloomy forebodings had excited in every bosom. The writer boldly recommended that, as all the applications to the sympathy and justice of Congress had failed of success, an appeal should be made to their fears. Fortunately, the commander-in-chief was in the camp. Though conscious that the officers had just cause of complaint, he was aware that duty to his country, and even friendship for them, required that he should prevent the adoption of rash and disorderly expedients to obtain redress. Calling them together, he, by a calm and sensible address, persuaded them to rely still longer upon the disposition of Congress to perform for them whatever the limited means of the nation would permit. In a letter to that body, giving an account of these occurrences, he maintained and enforced the claims of the officers with such pathos and strength of reasoning, that their request was granted.

On the 18th of October, Congress issued a proclamation for disbanding the army. This document states, "That, in the progress of an arduous and difficult war, the armies of the

United States of America have displayed every military and patriotic virtue, and are not less to be applauded for their fortitude and magnanimity in the most trying scenes of distress, than for a series of heroic and illustrious achievements, which exalt them to high rank among the most zealous and successful defenders of the rights and liberties of mankind ; and that, by the blessing of Divine Providence on our cause and our arms, the glorious period is arrived when our national independence and sovereignty are established, and we enjoy the prospect of permanent and honourable peace. 'The United States, in congress assembled, thus impressed with a lively sense of the distinguished merit, and good conduct of the said armies, do give them the thanks of their country for their long, eminent, and faithful services. And it is our will and pleasure, that such part of the federal armies as stand engaged to serve during the war, and as by our acts of the 26th of May, the 11th of June, the 9th of August, and the 26th of September last, were furloughed, shall, from and after the 3d day of November next, be absolutely discharged, by virtue of this our proclamation, from the said service.'

New York was evacuated by the British, on the 25th of November, and the Americans took possession of the city the same day ; and a short time after the army was disbanded, and again mingled with their fellow citizens.

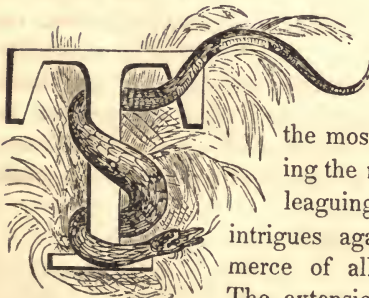
General Washington, taking an affectionate leave of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, where Congress was sitting, and there, at a public audience, with dignity and sensibility, resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American armies. Then, with a character illustrious throughout the world, he returned to his residence at Mount Vernon, possessing the sincere love and profound veneration of his countrymen.*

* Hinton.



CHAPTER XII.

The Campaign in Africa.


 HE piratical states of Barbary had long been in the habit of committing the most barbarous cruelties, making the most flagrant extortions, and leagu- ing together in unprincipled intrigues against the peace and commerce of all the powers of Europe. The extension of the American commerce, in the Mediterranean, was too tempting an object to escape their avarice and thirst for plunder. Hitherto they had

encountered no serious check, and the Bashaw of Tripoli, determined to improve the occasion by making a demand for tribute. In 1799, he threatened speedy depredations on the defenceless vessels of America, unless certain terms, totally inadmissible in their nature, were complied with. On the remonstrance of the American consul, and the rejection of those terms by the government of the United States, the consul was ordered by the Bashaw, to withdraw from his dominions ; and, during the month of June, 1801, five American vessels were captured by Tripolitan cruizers.

During the year 1801, the government of the United States, despatched three frigates and a sloop of war to the Mediterranean under Commodore Dale ; and the next year Commodore Murray, in the *Constellation*, sailed for the same destination. In 1803, a squadron of seven sail under Commodore Preble was despatched into the Mediterranean. One of these ships, the *Philadelphia*, being sent in to reconnoitre the harbour of Tripoli, ran aground and was taken. The subsequent recapture and burning of this ship, under the very guns of the Tripolitan batteries and corsairs, was one of the most brilliant achievements of Decatur, who was then a lieutenant, and accomplished this famous feat in a small schooner with but twenty six men, and with the inconsiderable loss of only four men slightly wounded.*

The fleet, however, would have effected little had it not been for the skill and activity of General Eaton, then the American Consul of Tunis. He found that the reigning Bashaw was a usurper, having expelled his elder brother, Hamet Caramalli, from the sovereignty a few years before. Having ascertained that the subjects of the usurper were disaffected, and ripe for revolt in favor of the exiled brother, he immediately suggested to Mr. Madison, then secretary of state, a project for converting this circumstance into a means of depriving the Bashaw of his mischievous power, and restoring a prince, whom gratitude, and a milder disposition would in-

* For a particular account of the naval events of this war, see Frost's *Book of the Navy* page 91 — 113

cline to a more liberal and pacific system of conduct towards the United States. The plan briefly was, that General Eaton and the exiled Bashaw, with such an army as they could raise by means of some pecuniary aid from the United States, should attack the usurper by land, while our naval force in the Mediterranean should co-operate in the enterprise.

Being informed that Hamet was at Alexandria in Egypt, Eaton repaired thither, and upon his arrival learned that Hamet could not be engaged in the service without the consent of Elfy Bey, to whom he had attached him ; and that he was then with him in Upper Egypt, acting with the Mameluke Beys against the Ottoman government. With an escort of three officers and fifteen men from the brig Argus, he proceeded up the Nile to Grand Cairo, where he found the prime minister of Hamet, who immediately despatched a messenger to the Mameluke camp, informing His Highness of the general's arrival. In a few days he received an answer, proposing an interview near the Lake Fiaum, on the borders of the desert, and nearly two hundred miles from the sea coast. In repairing to the appointed place, from Alexandria, whither he had returned, it became necessary to pass through the Turkish camp : in attempting which he was arrested, and carried before the General. Eaton soon found that this General was proud, vain, and jealous, and he regulated his conduct accordingly. He commenced the conversation by complimenting the Turk on the correctness of his military conduct and vigilance, and saying that had he been in his place he would have done the same things ; that he had expected he would be apprehended ; in short, that, knowing the magnanimity of the great man to whose presence he was admitted, he had determined to have an interview with him, in full confidence that he would aid a measure so purely humane, and so manifestly favorable to the Turkish interest in Egypt. Eaton then hinted that he had it in charge to tender him a *douceur* in testimony of the exalted opinion held by the Americans, of his name and merits. He was moved,— said that the confidence placed in him should not be disappointed,

and called into his tent an Arab chieftain who promised to bring about a meeting with Hamet Bashaw in ten days.

The meeting soon took place, and it was agreed between them to raise an army immediately, and to march over land, through the desert of Lybia, to the City of Derne, while Captain Hull, with the *Argus*, and two other vessels would proceed and join them at Bomba, a port about eighty miles to the eastward of Derne, with supplies of provisions and ammunition. This army, which was organized on the 8th of March 1805, consisted of nine Americans, including three officers; a company of twenty-five cannoniers, and thirty-eight Greeks. The Bashaw's suite consisted of about ninety men. These, together with a party of Arab cavalry under the orders of two of their own Sheiks, and including the footmen and camel drivers, made the whole number about four hundred.

They had not proceeded far before discontent, disobedience and revolt, began to interrupt their concord. The camel drivers insisted on their pay in advance; the Arab cavalry became impatient and disheartened, and threatened to go back; and as rumors were almost every day reaching their ears that a powerful army was advancing against them from Tripoli, the unfortunate Hamet himself began to show signs of irresolution and despondency. In these trying and perplexing situations, Eaton required all the spirit and energy of his character, and all the resources of his genius, to extricate himself. When within a few days march from Bomba, which had been appointed the rendezvous for the supply vessels, a most alarming misunderstanding and contest took place, which threatened not only to terminate the expedition prematurely, but to have buried the very history of it in oblivion.* The courage and presence of mind of General Eaton, however, succeeded in allaying the mutiny, and they proceeded on their march towards Bomba, where they arrived on the 15th of April, and the next day, being almost entirely destitute of provisions, and even of water, they had the transporting joy

* See the Life of General Eaton pp—322 —324

of seeing the *Argus*, the *Hornet* and the *Nautilus*, cast anchor in the bay. After remaining there a few days to recruit the strength and spirits of the half famished and disheartened troops, and concerting measures for seizing on the city of Derne, the governor of which had declared his allegiance and fidelity to the reigning Bashaw, they resumed their march with renewed vigor, and on the morning of the 25th took post on an eminence overlooking the town.

Several chiefs came out to meet the Bashaw Hamet, with assurances of fealty and attachment. By them Eaton learned that the city was divided into three departments; two of which were in the interest of the Bashaw, and one in opposition. This department, though fewest in numbers, was strongest in position and resource, being defended by a battery of eight guns, the blind walls of the houses which are provided in all directions with loop holes for musketry, and by temporary parapets thrown up in several positions, not covered by the battery; this department is the nearest the sea, and the residence of the Bey.

On the morning of the 26th terms of amity were offered the Bey on condition of allegiance and fidelity. The flag of truce was sent back to Eaton, with the laconic answer, "My head or yours!" On the 27th the three American vessels having arrived in the bay, Derne was assaulted. In three quarters of an hour, the battery was silenced, but not abandoned. The fire of the only field piece in possession of the assailants was relaxed in consequence of the rammer being shot away. The fire of the enemy's musketry became warmer, and was continually augmenting. The troops were thrown into confusion, and, undisciplined as they were, it was impossible to reduce them to order. Eaton saw that a charge was his only resort. He led his little army forward against a host of savages more than ten times their number. As this gallant band advanced, the enemy fled from their coverts irregularly, firing in retreat from every palm tree and partition wall in their way. At this moment, Eaton received a ball through his left wrist which deprived him of the use of

his hand, and of course of his rifle also. Lieutenant O'Bannon, accompanied by Mr. Mann of Annapolis, pressed forward with his marines, Greeks, and such of the cannoniers, as were not necessary to the management of the field piece; passed through a shower of musketry from the walls of the houses; took possession of the battery; planted the Star spangled Banner upon its ramparts; and turned its guns upon the enemy; who, being now driven from their outposts, fired only from their houses, from which they were soon dislodged, by the whole fire from the vessels being directed into them. The Bashaw soon got possession of the Bey's palace; his cavalry flanked the flying enemy; and, a little after four o'clock, the allies had complete possession of the town. The action lasted above two hours and a half. The governor and his adherents fled, some to the desert, and others to the advancing Tripolitan army, which, on the morning of the 27th was within fourteen hours march of Derne. Of the few Christians who fought on shore there were fourteen killed or wounded; three of whom were marines; the rest being chiefly Greeks, who, throughout the whole affair, well supported their ancient character.*

On the 13th of May, the reigning Bashaw, came up with a strong force and attempted to recover the place, but was repulsed; and on the 10th of June he sustained another defeat. Immediately after these events the American fleet was reinforced by the arrival of the Constitution frigate. While affairs thus wore a triumphant aspect, and while the capital was in alarm of immediate attack, Colonel Lear, the consul, thought fit to listen to overtures from the enemy and conclude a peace. It comprehended the delivery of the prisoners on both sides; there being a balance of 200 in favour of the Bashaw, for which 60,000 dollars were to be paid. All co-operation was to be withdrawn from Hamet, in whose favour it was only stipulated, that his wife and children should be released.

Whatever may have been the real advantage gained to the United States by this treaty, and the sudden termination of

* General Eaton's letter to Samuel Barron, the Commander-in-chief.

hostilities; yet there has existed but one opinion among the American people, as to the probable consequences of the longer continuance of the war. Eaton, supported by the navy, would, in all human probability, have penetrated to Tripoli; deposed the reigning Bashaw; elevated Hamet, the ally of the United States; liberated the American captives without ransom; and settled an advantageous commercial convention with the restored Hamet.

Though it may be alleged, that there is uncertainty in the issue of battle, it is, nevertheless, believed, that the treaty under existing circumstances, was to be regretted; not on account of the paltry sum of \$60,000; but, from an aversion, purely national, to the purchase of peace, with money. The objection does honour to the American people; and acquires additional weight, from peace having been already earned by the enterprise, and nearly secured by the sword of an American soldier.

The released prisoners sailed for the United States, in the frigate *President* where they arrived on the 6th of August. Thus terminated the campaign in Africa.*

* Ramsay.





CHAPTER XIII.

The North-west War, and the Tippecanoe War.



AFTER the termination of the Revolutionary struggle, the hardy pioneers of our western frontiers, had still a bloody war to maintain with the savages by whom they were surrounded. During that struggle the Indians had taken a decided part with the British, and now that peace was concluded, many of their tribes refused to lay down their arms, and still continued their merciless ravages on the back-settlers. The Northern Indians in 1790, were supposed to amount to five thousand warriors; of these about fifteen hundred were at open war with the United States; and, of the residue in that quarter, several tribes were far from being friendly. They were now much more formidable, than the early English colonists had found them. They no longer depended on bows

and arrows, for the purposes of attack and defence. Seventy years had elapsed, since the French began to instruct them in the use of fire-arms, tomahawks and swords. In the several wars, which had taken place in that period, and particularly in the late war of the Revolution, they had acquired a considerable knowledge of discipline. In natural courage they were never deficient, though, in bodily strength, they were inferior to the Virginians, and other descendants of Europeans ; especially such of them, as inhabited the hilly country of the west.

In the south, the Creek Indians, whose fighting men amounted to six hundred, were at war with Georgia. Their chief, McGillivray, was irritated, because of the confiscation of the property of his father, who was a white man, and had been a tory. The state of Georgia claimed a tract of land on the Oconee, under a purchase, the validity of which the Indians denied. The whole regular force of the United States was less than six hundred men. Under such circumstances, policy as well as humanity to the natives, and a regard to justice, pointed out negotiation and pacific measures, as most proper to be pursued. A treaty was opened with the Creek Indians in Georgia ; but was soon broken off by McGillivray, who was supposed to be partially influenced by his Spanish neighbours. To remove all bias from that quarter, a proposition was made to him, to treat with the United States, at New York. This being accepted, he, and several of the head men of his nation repaired thither, and on the 7th of August, 1790, they concluded a treaty with the United States, which satisfied both parties, and preserved the peace of that quarter of the Union.*

Pacific overtures were also made to the North-western Indians ; but were rejected. Vigorous hostile measures became, therefore, necessary. Experience had proved, that offensive operations, carried into the towns and settlements of the Indians, were the most efficient means of procuring peace, and securing the frontiers, exposed to their incursions. Accord-

* Moore. Ramsay. Sparks.

ingly in September 1790, General Harmar was sent forward with three hundred and twenty regulars, who, being reinforced by the militia of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, formed a corps of one thousand four hundred and fifty-three men. The Indians on his approach set fire to their villages; but this was nothing, unless they could be brought to an engagement. Harmar, however, instead of advancing himself with the main body, sent forward Colonel Harden, with two hundred and thirty men, of whom only thirty were regulars. They were attacked; the militia fled; the others were nearly cut off. The general then sent forward Harden with three hundred and sixty men, who speedily encountered another large body. After a brave contest, in which this party lost nearly half their number, they retreated on the main body. Harmar claimed the victory, on what ground it is difficult to discern. His conduct in keeping behind and encountering the enemy with these small detachments seems most unaccountable; yet, on being tried by a court-martial, he was acquitted.

To retrieve this failure, Washington obtained authority to raise two thousand men for six months' service; not likely to constitute a very efficient force. From various difficulties it could not be forwarded till the end of 1791, when it was placed under General St Clair, governor of the north-western territory. The object was to destroy the settlements on the Miami, and expel the natives from that district. St Clair, with fourteen hundred men, advanced on the 3d of November to the vicinity of these villages, where he took post to await reinforcements. Before sunrise next day the troops were roused by the sound of the Indian war-cry; the enemy were in the camp, and in a few minutes had penetrated throughout, and even to the rear. Invisible death continued to pour in from every side; the assailants, stretched on the ground, or lurking behind trees, were seen only as they sprung from one covert to another. As usual, a number of the militia fled, when the others, with broken ranks, bore the whole brunt, and the officers, who were veteran and brave, became fatally exposed. Several charges were made with the bayonet; but in this

scene of confusion they could not be effectively followed up. St Clair at length saw no alternative but to order a retreat, which was effected in the utmost confusion. His loss amounted to six hundred and thirty-one killed, among whom were General Butler and thirty-seven other officers, and two hundred and sixty-three wounded. Yet by a committee of inquiry in Congress he was fully acquitted, which we cannot but think another instance of extreme leniency, since it seems impossible to consider him as having taken due precaution against surprise.

This intelligence fell like a thunderbolt upon the government, which had already to struggle against a strong spirit of discontent. It was easy to foresee, what indeed immediately ensued, that all the treaties would be dissolved, and a general savage confederacy formed against the United States. Washington, impressed with the necessity of having some kind of regular force, proposed to raise three regiments of infantry for three years, which, with a squadron of cavalry, would give a total of five thousand. The opposition strongly objected, arraigning the origin of the war, insisting that it should now be purely defensive, and that the border militia were the best fitted for it,—a most delusive idea, when their conduct had been its chief cause. The motion was carried; but such a strong desire of peace was manifested, that Washington, though with scarcely a hope of success, sent two distinguished officers with proposals; but both were unhappily murdered by the savages. The Miami and Wabash Indians opened communications with all the tribes that had entered into the treaty at Fort Harmar, and even with part of the Creeks and Cherokees. A meeting was held of sixteen nations, in which it was determined to accept of no terms short of making the Ohio the boundary between them and the States.

Though St Clair had been acquitted, he was not continued in the command; his place being supplied by General Wayne. That officer, however, could not fully bring forward his strength till the summer of 1794. He then, with two thousand six hundred regulars and one thousand and twenty-nine

mounted militia, advanced along the Miami. On the 7th of July, Major M'Mahon, occupying a fortified post, was attacked by a strong body, who were repulsed; yet they rallied, and kept up a fire during the whole day. He lost twenty-two killed and thirty wounded, four of the former being officers. Wayne now pushed forward upon their main fort of Grand Glaize, which he reached on the 8th August. It had been precipitately abandoned the preceding evening, and, he believes, would have been surprised had not a deserter from his own army given warning. He then advanced upon the main body, drawn up at six miles distance under cover of a British fort. Major Price commanding his vanguard, was driven back, but the troops soon after came in view of the enemy.

They held a position well fitted for their peculiar warfare, being within a thick wood, encumbered with felled trees; and their line, in three divisions, within supporting distance, extended two miles. Wayne had the sagacity to discover, that against this enemy, so posted, a regular fire in line would be wholly ineffective. He directed his troops to march through the wood with trailed arms, then with the bayonet rouse the enemy from their covert, and when they were up, pour in a close, well-directed fire, followed up by a brisk charge. The cavalry, in two bodies, under General Scott and Captain Campbell, were by a circuitous route, to come on their right and left flanks. The attack, however, made by the foremost line according to the above directions, was attended with such immediate success, that the second line and the cavalry only partially came into action. The enemy was dislodged from their position, and driven in confusion through the woods, till they found shelter under the guns of the English fort. The American loss amounted to one hundred and seven killed and wounded. That of the enemy was much greater.

Wayne now laid waste the country, destroying the villages for fifty miles on each side of the Miami; then returned to Grand Glaize, and began fortifying his positions. Though his triumph deterred many tribes from joining the cause, the main enemy remained in arms, while his own forces were mouldering.

ing away, through the unhappy system of temporary enlistment. The militia ought to have remained till the 14th of November; but by the middle of October they were seized, he says, with such violent symptoms of homesickness, that it became necessary to dismiss them. The legion was reduced to a skeleton; and by May next, the period of service for all would expire. The forts were becoming tolerably strong, but were in great danger of being left without garrisons; so that unless extraordinary exertions were made to reinforce the army, it would have fought, bled, and conquered in vain. Secretary Pickering was thus obliged to give to Congress the unwelcome intimation, that an additional force would be necessary, even to maintain a defensive attitude. The Indians, however, appear to have been stunned by the blow, and by seeing, doubtless, that there was a method by which they could be vanquished. A number moved westward, and some even crossed the Mississippi. They were probably finally determined by the evacuation of all the western forts by Britain in June 1795. On the 16th, four chiefs came and presented the calumet of peace, and were followed, on the 3d of July, by a more numerous deputation, all declaring their desire of a treaty with the Fifteen Fires. Their reception was courteous; two forfeited lives of their countrymen were spared; and the negotiation, proceeding with the most favourable disposition, terminated in the treaty of Greenville, in which ten nations were included. A considerable cession of land was required; in other respects, the terms were the same as on former occasions.*

This decisive victory of General Wayne, did not entirely exempt the Western States from the horrors of Indian warfare. British influence still continued to embroil the natives and the settlers of the western borders in continual strife. Nor was this the only exciting cause for Indian hostilities. A confederation of Indians, under the command of Tecumseh—a daring and sagacious man, and an able military leader,—and his brother, a Shawanese imposter known by the name of “the

* Murray.

Prophet,"—had been formed, and had for some time excited the vigilance of the Indiana government. In the autumn of 1811, the murders and other outrages committed by these savages, determined the government to adopt measures for the protection of the exposed citizens against frontier molestation. A small force of regulars and militia was assembled at Vincennes, and placed under the command of William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, with instructions to march to the Prophet's Town or Tippecanoe, and demand a restoration of the property, carried off by his partisans. He was also authorized to obtain redress by coercive measures, if necessary.*

On the 6th of November, Governor Harrison arrived before the town. Messengers from the Prophet were sent out to meet him; and, after an interview, in which it was mutually agreed that no hostilities should take place before the next morning, when amicable conferences were to be held, the army proceeded to a creek north-west of the village, and bivouacked on a bank of dry oak land, considerably elevated, and situated between two prairies. The infantry, in two columns, occupied the front and rear, separated on the left, one hundred and eighty yards, and on the right about half that distance. The left flank was covered by two companies of mounted riflemen, containing one hundred and fifty, rank and file, commanded by Major-General Wells, of Kentucky; and the right flank, by Spencer's troop of mounted riflemen, to the number of eighty. The front line was composed of one battalion of the fourth regiment of the United States' infantry, under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one. The rear line was formed of another battalion of the fourth United States' infantry, under Captain Baer, acting Major, flanked by four companies of militia under Lieutenant Colonel Decker. Two troops of dragoons, sixty strong, took post in the rear of the left flank; and another, somewhat stronger, in the rear of the

* Ramsay.

front line. To guard against a night attack, the order of encampment was appointed the order of battle ; and each man rested upon his arms.

One flank was protected by two Captain's guards, each of four non-commissioned officers, and forty two privates ; and the other by two subaltern's guards, each of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. Just before reveillé, on the morning of the 7th of November 1811, an attack commenced on the left flank, and the pickets were driven in. The first notice of the approach of the enemy was the usual yells of the savages within a short distance of the lines. They had violated the armistice agreed upon to subsist until the ensuing day ; which, it would seem, they had proposed with a view to gain an opportunity of surprising their adversaries, in their usual manner. Nothing but the precaution of encamping in order of battle, and the deliberate firmness of the officers in counteracting the effects of a surprise, saved the army from total defeat. The storm first fell upon Captain Barton's regulars, and Captain Geiger's mounted riflemen, Some Indians forced themselves through the line, and penetrated into the encampment, where they were killed. The companies thus suddenly and severely attacked, were reinforced with all possible speed. A heavy fire then opened, to the left of the front, immediately on the regular companies of Captains Baer, Snelling and Prescott. A gallant charge by the cavalry, from the rear of the front line, under Major Daviess, was ordered for the purpose of breaking the Indians, who appeared in great force among some trees a few yards distant in front. The Major received a mortal wound and his men were driven back by superior numbers of the enemy. Captain Snelling's Company then charged with fixed bayonets, and the enemy were dislodged. The enemy's fire now extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, it was excessively heavy. Captain Spencer, and his first and second Lieutenants were killed ; and

Captain Warwick fell, mortally wounded. The troops, notwithstanding the fall of their officers bravely maintained their posts, until reinforced. Day approached, when Major Wells, reconnoitering the position of the enemy on the left, charged and broke them. At this favouring moment, a small detachment from the cavalry dashed furiously upon the retreating Indians, and precipitated them into a marsh. Simultaneously with these successful efforts on the left, the enemy were charged on the right by the companies of Captain Cook and Lieutenant Larabie, supported by the mounted riflemen, who pursued and killed a number of the Indians in their flight. The effect of these resolute charges was the complete dispersion of the enemy, who fled in all directions. The Americans lost, in killed and wounded one hundred and eighty-eight men. That of the Indians was estimated at one hundred and fifty.

On the 9th of November, General Harrison burned the Prophet's town, and laid waste the surrounding districts, and soon after returned, with his forces into the settled country. Many of the Indian tribes, now submitted to the authorities and sued for peace. Tecumseh, at the time of the battle of Tippecanoe was in the south, instigating the Creeks to join his confederacy.*

* Hinton.



CHAPTER XIV.

Causes of the war of 1812.



T the time when Great Britain, by the treaty of Paris, concluded in 1783, acknowledged the independence of the United States, she did not, by any means, resign all hope

of again becoming the possessor, of that bright jewel in her diadem, her American colonies. No, she acknowledged the “freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States,” because it was her interest to do so at that time. She found that she could not *compel* her colonies to subjection, and she resolved to try other means. It was thought, that, left to itself, the government established in the infant republic, would soon fall to pieces; that, through the jealousy of the states the clashing of the interests of the several factions, and the want of a more perfect union, Britain would be invited to take peaceable possession of that which she could not obtain by force of arms. American affairs indeed, for many years after the treaty of Paris wore no favourable aspect, and, had it not been for the bright galaxy of patriotic spirits, with which we were then blessed, it is probable that, at this day, the wishes of Britain would have been accomplished, and the United States of America would have passed away from among the nations of the earth. These men, however, by adopting our admirable constitution and organizing

our present form of government, damped the hopes of intriguing England.*

She now determined to change her policy. From being merely a passive, she determined to become an active, though in some instances, a secret agent for our destruction. Contrary to express stipulation, the military posts on our north western frontier,† though confessedly within the boundaries of the United States, were still retained; and her savage allies, the Indians, were instigated, and supplied with the means to renew hostilities on the frontier settlers. She is next found extending her territory in the United States, and taking a position on the Miami of the Lakes, from which place, for three campaigns, she supplied the Indians with provisions and ammunition, and prompted them to new and repeated aggressions.

Wayne's victory in 1794, having put a stop to this part of Britain's plan for desolating the United States, she next turned her attention to the dissolution of the union. Perceiving the geographical distinctness of the eastern states, and mistaking the freedom of political discussion, for a spirit of revolt, she despatched a confidential agent to the capital of Massachusetts, with instructions to foment discontent with the general government; to observe the state of public opinion, with regard to a war, or a connection with England; and the comparative strength of the two great parties into which the country was divided, with the views and designs of that which might ultimately prevail; It is not improbable," he was told, "that the party which would be successful in obtaining that decided influence which might enable them to direct the public opinion, rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they were then subject, would exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general union.‡ The failure of this enterprise, forbade its

* Armstrong. Brackenbridge.

† The posts thus retained, were Michilimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, Oswegatchi, Point au Fer, and Dutchman's Point.

‡ See Frost's Pictorial United States vol IV. p 76.

avowal by the British government, but the number and character of the documents, forwarded to congress, by John Henry, the agent employed by Britain, places the truth of the matter beyond a doubt.

While Britain was thus trying the patience of America on land, she was not idle on the ocean. When, in 1793, she became a party in the war against republican France, she found that America, the most active, and finally almost the only maritime neutral power, was reaping a rich harvest by engaging in the commerce between the ports of the belligerent states. In order to put a stop to this, the odious rule of 1756 was revived. That was soon followed by the orders in council of the 8th of January 1793, authorizing the British cruizers to capture and carry into British ports "all vessels, laden wholly, or in part, with corn, flour, or meal, destined to France, or to other countries, if occupied by the arms of that nation." This, it will be at once seen, became the source of intolerable vexation to American merchants, but bad as it was, it was again exceeded by the orders of the 6th of November of the same year, which were circulated secretly among the British cruizers, and subjected "to capture and adjudication all vessels laden with the produce of any of the colonies of France, or carrying provisions or supplies to such colonies." By this the greater part of the commerce of the United States, was at one blow, swept from the ocean.

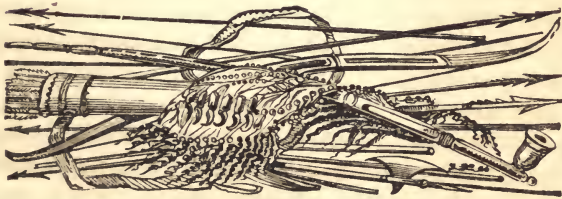
England, however, not yet content, went on to add other grievances, and she soon interdicted all neutral commerce, not only with particular blockaded ports, (which, according to the laws of war, she had a right to do,) but with whole countries and extensive coasts, which would require a naval force ten times as large as that possessed by her, to blockade. Nor did she stop even there. As if to leave nothing untried to drive America into a war, she next invaded the *personal* rights of our seamen. She claimed the right of entering our merchant vessels, nay, even our vessels of war, and seizing the sailors employed in them, men, owing her no allegiance, and having

no connexion of any kind with her policy or arms, and dragging them on board her ships of war, making them fight her battles, and obey the orders of men, whether right or wrong, they were told they had no business to inquire. Their whole duty was obedience. And, all this was done under the specious pretext, at first, of searching our merchant vessels for deserters from the British service; next, it was the right to impress British seamen who had entered and engaged themselves in American ships; and, finally, every one who could not prove on the spot, to the satisfaction of the boarding officer, that he was not born in Britain or any of her colonies, was carried away to a most hateful bondage. In this manner, thousands of American citizens were seized and carried to distant ports, where they could not procure proofs of their origin, and those actually produced, were not often regarded. In a report to Congress, it is stated, "that the number impressed since the beginning of the war was four thousand two hundred and twenty-eight, of whom nine hundred and thirty-six had been afterwards discharged on proof of their being American citizens. By far the greater proportion of those four thousand and upwards, were native Americans, and in six hundred and ninety-seven recent cases, only twenty-three were British, and one hundred and five doubtful.*

Evils of such magnitude, and continued for such a length of time, could not fail to produce great excitement among the people, and induce something of the same feeling on the part of the government. During Washington's administration, the conduct of Great Britain gave sufficient cause for war; but he had marked out for himself, the course of conduct, which he has recommended in his farewell address, which was to "beware of the insidious wiles of foreign influence," to keep aloof from European policy, and avoid all entanglement in their wars. He succeeded in effecting the treaty of 1794, by which Britain merely evaded a war for which she was not then prepared. She was not long in recommencing the old disputes again.

* Murray.

Adams and Jefferson also saw causes sufficient for war, in the conduct of their old enemy, but they doubted the expediency of the measure. They determined to employ diplomacy, persuasion, arguments, remonstrances; but, unfortunately, with a nation like Great Britain, which makes its own interest and convenience the only text for right and wrong, all these proved unavailing. Madison, also, tried negotiation, until at last, Britain, not wishing further to discuss wrongs which she did not intend to redress, and feeling herself now to be in a condition fit for war, declared officially that "farther negotiation was inadmissible." Madison could no longer hesitate. A bill, declaring war against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and their dependencies, passed both houses of Congress. On the 18th of June, 1812, it received the approbation of the president, and, on the next day was by him publicly announced by proclamation.



CHAPTER XV.

Campaign of 1812.



THE declaration of war, found the Americans but ill prepared for the contest. The principle of Jefferson's administration had been rigid economy, the smallest

possible standing force, and an almost entire dependence upon the militia. Yet every effort to give to that body an organized and efficient character had proved abortive. The army in 1808, was reduced to three thousand, and though authority had since been given to raise it to thirty-five thousand, the nation was so averse to the bondage of a military engagement, that the recruiting went on very slowly. At the declaration of war, it amounted only to eleven thousand eight hundred men, of whom five thousand were employed in garrisoning posts. The only effective force, in fact, consisted of the Ohio and Kentucky mounted militia, who were hardened by incessant and terrible conflicts with the Indian tribes. In the month of April, 1812, the governor of Ohio, was ordered by the president to call out twelve hundred militia. The people of the western states, being unanimous and enthusiastic in favour of the war, this requisition was immediately filled by volunteers, who assembled at Dayton on the 29th of April, and were shortly after placed under the command of William

Hull then governor of the Michigan territory, who had served with reputation in the war of the Revolution, and had recently received the appointment of Brigadier-General in the regular army. With this force, the fourth United States' regiment of infantry, and some detachments of other regiments, he arrived at Detroit on the 5th of July, having been obliged to cut his road for nearly two hundred miles, from the settlements on the Ohio, through a swampy and intricate wilderness. Before they reached Detroit, the soldiers were informed of the declaration of war.*

As General Hull had received, before his taking command of the army, discretionary powers to act offensively in case of war, the invasion of Canada was now determined on, and the utmost diligence was used in preparation for that event. The arms of the troops were repaired, a part of the ordnance found in the fort at Detroit was mounted, and every exertion was used by the officers to impress on the minds of the soldiery the necessity of strict discipline and obedience to orders.

On the 12th of July, the army crossed into Canada, with the exception of a small part of one company of militia, that refused to pass the river. They encamped at Sandwich, a little below Detroit, where a proclamation was issued by General Hull. The inhabitants fled in the utmost consternation on the approach of the army, but on receiving the proclamation, many of them returned to their homes.

On the 14th, a company of militia and a rifle corps, under Colonel M'Arthur, were detached to reconnoitre the country. They penetrated to M'Gregor's mills, upon the river La Tranche, or Thames, a short distance from the field of battle where the British army was captured fifteen months afterwards by General Harrison. On the 17th, they returned to camp, having collected a great quantity of provisions, and a number of blankets, besides a considerable quantity of ammunition and other military stores.

That part of upper Canada traversed by the detachment is

* Murray. Hist. Reg. vol. ii. Frost's U. S. Ramsay.

described by one of the volunteers that composed it as extremely fertile and beautiful. The fields of wheat and Indian corn were remarkable fine ; but as every male capable of bearing arms had been drafted for the defence of the province, vast quantities of the wheat remained ungathered.

On the 16th, another reconnoitering party of two hundred and eighty men, under Colonel Cass, was despatched in an opposite direction, towards Fort Malden, where the British and Indians had concentrated their forces.

Malden, or Amherstburgh, is situated near the the junction of Detroit river with Lake Erie, about thirteen miles south from the camp of General Hull at Sandwich. The road lies along the river, and crosses two creeks, and the river Aux Canards, the latter about four miles from Malden. Cass's detachment found the British advanced posts in possession of a bridge over the Aux Canards. After examining their position, the colonel posted a company of riflemen near the bridge, and forded the river about five miles above, with the remainder of his force, with the intention of surprising the British post. For that purpose, the riflemen were instructed to commence firing, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, as soon as they should perceive their companions on the opposite side of the river. Unfortunately, however, being entirely destitute of guides, the detachment marched too near the bank of the river, and found their progress checked by a creek, which obliged them to make a circuit of two or three miles. This gave the enemy time to make their arrangements, and prepare for their defence. On being attacked, however, they retreated to Malden, and left the bridge in possession of the detachment; but as Colonel Cass had received no orders to keep possession of any post, but had been sent merely to reconnoitre; this bridge, which formed the principal obstruction between the American camp and Malden, was abandoned, and the detachment returned to camp.

Meanwhile the main body of the Americans remained inactive at Sandwich. Not a single cannon or mortar was on wheels suitable for the attack of Malden ; nor was it until the

7th of August, that two twenty-four pounders and three howitzers were prepared. Previous to that day, however, a great change had taken place in the prospect of the Americans. The news of the surprise and capture of the island and fort of Michillimackinac by a combined force of British and Indians, which took place on the 17th of July, reached the army on the 28th. The surrender of this post is stated by General Hull to have "opened the northern hive of Indians," and to have induced those who had hitherto been friendly, to pass over to the British.

By the fall of Michillimackinac, the junction of the Indians, and the reinforcements, both of militia and regulars, which the inactivity of the Americans enabled the British to collect for the defence of Malden, it soon became evident that no effective measures towards the reduction of Canada could be undertaken by this army.

In the meantime the Indians had crossed the Detroit, and cut off the communication of the American army with the state of Ohio, on which they depended for their supplies. As a small reinforcement of volunteers, with a quantity of provisions for the army, was daily expected by this route, a corps of two hundred men was detached on the 4th of August to open the communication. This detachment fell into an ambuscade which was formed by the Indians at Brownstown, where they were totally defeated, and returned to camp without effecting the object of their expedition.

It being indispensably necessary to open the communication with Ohio, General Hull resolved to suspend the operations against Malden, and to concentrate the main force of the army at Detroit. Unwilling, however, to abandon the inhabitants of upper Canada, many of whom had accepted his protection under the proclamation, he established a fortress on the banks of the river, a little above Sandwich, where he left a garrison of three hundred men. The remainder of the army recrossed the river, and encamped at Detroit, on the evening of the 7th and the morning of the 8th of August.

In pursuance of the object of opening the communication,

six hundred men were immediately detached under Lieutenant-Colonel Miller. This detachment consisted principally of the regular troops, and a corps of artillerists, with one six pounder and a howitzer, a small body of cavalry, and detachments from the Ohio and Michigan volunteers. They marched from Detroit on the evening of the 8th of August, and on the 9th, about four o'clock P. M. the van guard was fired upon by an extensive line of British and Indians, at the lower part of the Maguago, about fourteen miles from Detroit. The van guard maintained their position in a most gallant manner, under a very heavy fire, until the line was formed, when the whole, excepting the rear guard, was brought into action. The enemy were formed behind a temporary breast-work of logs, the Indians extending in a thick wood on their left. The Americans advanced till within a small distance of the enemy, where they made a general discharge, and then proceeded with charged bayonets. The enemy maintained their position till forced at the point of the bayonet, when they commenced a retreat. They were pursued in the most vigorous manner, about two miles, when the pursuit was discontinued on account of the fatigue of the troops, the approach of evening, and the necessity of returning to take care of the wounded. The Indians in this battle were under the command of Tecumseh, and are said to have fought with great obstinacy.

The British regulars and volunteers in this action are stated in General Hull's despatch to have amounted to four hundred, with a larger number of Indians: the Americans were six hundred in number. The American loss was eighteen killed, and sixty-four wounded: that of the British was not ascertained. Four of the regulars were made prisoners, who stated that the commander, Major Muir, and two subalterns, were wounded, and that fifteen were killed and wounded of the 41st regiment; and as the militia and volunteers were in the severest part of the action, their loss must have been much greater. About forty Indians were found dead on the field; and Tecumseh, their leader, was slightly wounded.

Nothing, however, but honour was gained by this victory. The communication was opened no farther than the points of their bayonets extended; and the necessary care of the sick and wounded, and a severe storm of rain, rendered their return to camp indispensably necessary. Boats had been sent from Detroit to transport the wounded thither by water; but the attempt was found impracticable. The boats being despatched from Malden, the Hunter and Queen Charlotte were despatched in pursuit, and they were forced to convey the wounded from the boats into the woods, and there leave them until wagons could be procured from Detroit.

It was now determined entirely to abandon Canada, and accordingly the fort at Sandwich was evacuated and destroyed.

Suspicious of treachery in the general, which had begun to arise immediately after the return of the army to Detroit, had now become very prevalent among the troops. A letter was written to Governor Meigs of Ohio, by five of the principal officers, begging him instantly to make every effort to open the communication, and informing him of their fears and suspicions.

On the 14th of August, another attempt was made to penetrate to the river Raisin, where it was understood the detachment from Ohio had arrived with the provisions. Colonels M'Arthur and Cass selected three hundred of the most effective men, and set off by an upper route through the woods. The same day the British began to erect batteries opposite Detroit.

On the 15th, General Brock despatched two officers, with a flag of truce, from Sandwich, which had previously been taken possession of by the British, requiring the surrender of Fort Detroit to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, and threatening that the Indians* would be beyond his control the moment the contest commenced. General Hull, in his answer, replied, that he was ready to meet any force which might be at his disposal, and any consequences which might result from his exertion of it. On the return of the flag of truce, the British commenced a fire upon Detroit from their

batteries, which was vigorously returned from the American fort. The British continued to fire and throw shells till ten o'clock that night, and at break of day the firing was renewed on both sides.

During the night the ships of war had moved up the river, nearly as high as Detroit, and the British and Indians landed under cover of their guns, and were advancing towards the fort, when General Hull ordered a white flag to be hoisted, and the firing to be discontinued. The firing from the opposite side was immediately stopped, and a parley was held, when articles of capitulation were agreed upon, by which Fort Detroit, with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, with all the public stores, arms, and every thing else of a public nature, were surrendered to the British. The militia and volunteers were to be permitted to go home, on condition of not serving again till exchanged. The detachment with the provisions at the river Raisin, and that under Colonel M'Arthur, which had been sent to meet it, were included in the surrender. It was stipulated that private persons and property of every description should be respected.

Shortly after this capitulation took place, Colonel M'Arthur's detachment returned to Detroit, their attempt to penetrate to the river Raisin having proved equally unsuccessful with the former ones. When they arrived within a mile of that place, they learned its surrender, on which a council was held, when it was determined to send an officer to the fort with a flag of truce. In the evening he returned with two British officers, who informed them that they were prisoners of war. The detachment then marched to Detroit, where they stacked their arms on the citadel.

The day following the surrender of the army, a British officer arrived at the river Raisin, and delivered to Captain Brush, the commander of the detachment from Ohio, copies of the capitulation, and of a letter from Colonel M'Arthur, stating that his force was included in the surrender. At first these papers were considered forgeries, and the officer and his party were put into confinement; but their truth being confirmed by

several soldiers who had made their escape from the garrison at Detroit, a council of the officers was held to consider what was proper to be done. This council decided that General Hull had no right to capitulate for them, and that they were not bound by his acts; and they accordingly concluded instantly to return to Ohio, and to carry with them all the public property that was possible. It was determined, however, that it would be improper to destroy those public stores that could not be carried off, as there were a number of American families who had taken refuge in the fort, and some soldiers, who were too sick to be removed, had to be left behind. It was likewise conceived, that the destruction of the stores might induce the enemy to deal more rigidly with the garrison at Detroit. These resolutions of the council were immediately carried into effect, and the detachment returned to the settlements.

Twenty-five pieces of iron, and eight of brass ordnance fell into the hands of the British at Detroit; several of the latter being pieces which had been surrendered by Burgoyne on the same day, thirty-five years before, viz, the 16th of August, 1777. Twenty-five hundred muskets and rifles, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, likewise fell into their hands.

The reason stated by general Hull for this unfortunate surrender, were, the great inferiority of his force to that of the enemy, joined to the numerous band of Indians, who were daily increasing in number; the hazardous situation in which the detachment under Colonels M'Arthur and Cass was placed; and the impossibility of furnishing his army with the necessary supplies of provisions, military stores, clothing, and comforts for the sick, on pack horses, through a wilderness of two hundred miles, filled with hostile savages. The contest, he observes, could not have been sustained more than a day for the want of powder, and but a very few days for the want of provisions. "A large portion," continues he, "of the brave and gallant officers and men I commanded, would cheerfully have contested until the last cartridge had been ex-

pended, and the bayonets worn to the sockets. I could not consent to the useless sacrifice of such brave men, when I knew it was impossible for me to sustain my situation.” *

Thus ended, in discomfiture and disgrace, the first campaign of the British war. That it was boldly planned, and improvidently undertaken, hardly admits of a doubt; but it is equally clear, that the principal part of the subsequent disasters must be attributed to a deficiency of judgment or courage in the commanding officer. The surprise with which the orders to surrender were received by the army, was only equalled by their indignation. General Hull was publicly accused of imbecility and cowardice; and on his exchange, he was brought to trial before a court-martial, found guilty of cowardice and un-officer-like conduct, and sentenced to be shot. In consequence of his age, however, and revolutionary services he was recommended to the mercy of the President, who remitted the capital punishment, but ordered his name to be stricken from the rolls of the army — a punishment worse than death.

By the issue of this unfortunate expedition besides the loss of men and arms at Detroit, a weak frontier of vast extent was exposed to the brutality of Indian warfare, which continued for twelve months to harass the western settlements, and the territory of Michigan was occupied as a British province.

As soon as governor Meigs received the letter which we have mentioned as written to him by some of the officers at Detroit, he began to make preparations for the raising of an additional army. No sooner did the intelligence of the capitulation of Hull and surrender of Detroit become known, than an army sprung, as it were, from the dust, with the determination to revenge the loss of their friends and relatives, and retrieve the tarnished honour of their country. All classes and ages appeared to be animated with the same military ardour, and volunteers poured in so fast from all parts of Kentucky and Ohio, that it became necessary to repress the

ardour of the citizens, and many were discharged, and with difficulty prevailed on to return to their homes. General Harrison, was invested by the Governor of Kentucky, with the command of the militia of the state with the rank of Major-General and on the 29th of August put his troops in motion from Cincinnati. His first operations were directed to the relief of the frontier posts.

He arrived at Piqua on the 30th of September with about two thousand five hundred men, whence, after completing his arrangements and receiving his military stores, he marched on the 6th for Fort Wayne, a post situated at the confluence of the rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph, which after their junction assume the name of the Miami of the Lake. This post had been for some time invested by hostile Indians, but, on hearing of the approach of Harrison they precipitately retreated, and the army arrived at the fort, without opposition, on the 12th of September.

Not being able immediately to move on towards Detroit, on account of the want of proper supplies, Harrison determined to employ the intermediate time in breaking up the towns of the hostile Indian tribes. For this purpose two expeditions were organized, one of which was destined against the Miami towns, situated upon the Wabash, a little below its confluence with the Tippecanoe river, the other against the Potawatamie villages, which stand on a river called St. Joseph, which falls into lake Michigan. Both of these detachments were successful. Nine villages were burnt, and all the corn cut up and destroyed, in order that the want of provisions might force the Indians to leave that part of the country.

A few days after the return of the troops from those expeditions, general Winchester arrived at Fort Wayne with additional reinforcements. Winchester had been originally destined to the command of this army by the president; Harrison, who was governor of the Indiana territory, had merely been appointed a major-general by brevet by the governor of Kentucky, and by him placed in the command *pro tempore*, on account of the urgency of the occasion. On the arrival

of Winchester, Harrison accordingly relinquished the command, and set out for his own territory with a body of mounted men, for the purpose of breaking up the Indian settlements in that quarter. He had not proceeded far, however, before he received, by express, a commission from the president, constituting him commander-in-chief of the north-western army, general Winchester to act as second in command. These counteracting measures are said to have been owing to the ignorance of the president, at the time of Winchester's appointment, of the brevet appointment of Harrison, and to the general expression of confidence in the latter by the Kentuckians having reached the seat of government shortly after. Fortunately the measure created neither jealousy nor dislike on either side.

General Harrison arrived at Fort Wayne, and resumed the command on the 23d of September. The day previous to his arrival general Winchester had marched for Fort Defiance with two thousand men, consisting of four hundred regulars, a brigade of Kentucky militia, and a troop of horse.*

His design was to take possession of the fort, and there await the arrival of reinforcements from Kentucky and Ohio. The country, through which he was obliged to pass, presented difficulties of no ordinary nature, by reason of the almost impenetrable thickets and marshes, with which it is covered. The progress of the army was therefore very slow, seldom exceeding five or six miles in twenty four hours. From the apprehensions entertained of an attack by the Indians, it was thought necessary to fortify the camp every night; and the march of the army was always preceded by a reconnoitring party of spies. On the 25th, ensign Ligget, of the advanced party, obtained permission to proceed, with four volunteers, for the purpose of discovering the strength of the enemy at Fort Defiance. Late on the same evening they were attacked by a party of Indians, and, after defending themselves with great valour, were overpowered, and the whole party put to death. Subsequently to this affair various skirmishes

* Historical Register.

took place between the spies in advance and the savage forces, which had the effect of impeding the march of the army, and harassing the men.

The Indians appear to have been the advanced party of an army destined to attack Fort Wayne, which consisted of two hundred regulars, with four pieces of artillery, and about one thousand savages, the whole under the command of Major Muir. The intelligence, however, of the approach of the force under Winchester, the numbers of which were considerably exaggerated, and the report of an additional body being on the Au Glaize, caused an abandonment of the project, and a retreat down the Miami. General Winchester, who was ignorant of the motions of his enemy, proceeded with great caution, fortifying his camp as usual, at night, and sending reconnoitring parties in all directions. The army had now begun to suffer severely from a want of provisions, Colonel Jennings, who had been despatched by General Harrison, down the Au Glaize with a supply, not being able to reach Fort Defiance from the presence of the enemy. An escort was therefore sent forward by General Winchester; and after great difficulty and labour, the supplies were conveyed to the army on pack-horses. An express, had, in the meantime, been despatched to General Harrison, acquainting him with the situation of the troops and the force of the enemy; and, on the 30th of September, the army took possession of Fort Defiance, from which the enemy had previously retreated, and where General Harrison arrived with a part of his forces on the 3d of October.*

On the 4th Harrison, having left at Fort Defiance the force which constituted the left wing of the army, under general Winchester, returned to bring up the centre and right wing. On the day of his departure, he ordered general Tupper, with the mounted troops under his command, consisting of nearly one thousand men, to proceed on an expedition to the Rapids. This expedition was never carried into effect. Its failure arose partly from the undisciplined state of the troops which had been

* Ramsay.

selected for the enterprise, and partly from a disagreement which took place between their commander and general Winchester. The inefficiency of raw militia was perhaps never more strikingly displayed than on this occasion.

General Tupper, after returning with his mounted volunteers to Urbanna, was despatched with the centre of the north-western army, consisting of a regiment of regulars, and the Ohio volunteers and militia, to Fort M'Arthur. The right wing, consisting of a brigade of Pennsylvania, and a brigade of Virginia militia, were stationed at Sandusky.

Shortly after his arrival at Fort M'Arthur, general Tupper organized another expedition for the purpose of proceeding to the Rapids of the Miami. He left the fort on the 10th, with a force consisting of upwards of six hundred men, the soldiers carrying provisions in their knapsacks for five days. On the evening of the 13th, being then about thirteen miles from the rapids, an officer was despatched to examine the situation of the enemy, by whom it was ascertained that the British and Indians still occupied the settlements and fort at the rapids, and that the boats and vessels lay a little below.

In consequence of this information the detachment halted until sunset, when they proceeded to a ford about two miles and a half above the rapids, whence scouts were again detached to observe more particularly the situation and force of the enemy. The necessary information being soon received, the troops were ordered to cross the river, in order to attack the enemy at the dawn of day. Unfortunately, however, it was impracticable for the troops to cross. Every expedient that could be devised was unavailing, and a number of men who were swept down the rapids were with difficulty saved, with the loss of their muskets and ammunition.

In the morning, convinced that he was unable to reach the enemy, General Tupper ordered the spies to endeavour to decoy them over; and they accordingly proceeded down and discovered themselves. The stratagem, however, proved unsuccessful; for though a few Indians crossed the river, they were too cautious to be drawn within the lines. The main

body was then marched down the Miami, opposite to the encampment of the enemy. They appeared in considerable disorder as the advanced guard opened from the woods. The British, who were in the vessels and boats, immediately slipped their cables and proceeded down the river. The Indian women were seen running off on the road leading to Detroit; the men commenced a fire at the detachment from their muskets and a four pounder.

General Tupper having observed a number of mounted Indians proceeding up the river, and fearful of the camp being surprised, ordered the detachment to return. When within about a mile of the encampment, some of the soldiers, pressed probably by hunger, the provisions being now entirely exhausted, fired upon a drove of hogs, contrary to orders, and pursued them nearly half a mile; others left the ranks, and entered a field to gather corn. At this moment a body of mounted Indians came upon them, killed four men, and then commenced an attack on the rear of the right flank. The column being instantly thrown back, commenced a brisk fire, which caused the Indians to give ground; but they quickly rallied, and passing along the van-guard, made a violent charge upon the rear of the left column. This column was also thrown briskly back, and every attempt made to break the lines being resisted, in twenty minutes the Indians were driven from the field. Conceiving, however, that the charge of the mounted men was merely intended to throw the troops into disorder to make room for an attack of the foot, General Tupper ordered the right column to move up into marching order, lest that attack should be made on the right flank. This column had scarcely regained their position, when information was received that the Indians were crossing the river in considerable numbers. Tupper immediately ordered the left column to resume their marching order, and proceeded to the head of the right column, where he found that a number of Indians had crossed on horse-back, that some were still in the middle of the river, and about two hundred on the opposite bank. A battalion was immediately

ordered to advance and dislodge them. This attack was successful. The Indians were forced to retire, and several of them were shot from their horses while crossing the river.

The horses used by the Indians in this attack are stated to have been much superior to those they had been accustomed to ride. They were high and active; they were also supplied with pistols and holsters. A number of Indians were shot from their horses; but they were with great dexterity thrown on again, and carried off the field. Split Log led on several of the charges at the commencement of the attack, mounted on a well trained white horse, from which he sometimes fired, and at other times leaped from him behind a tree. It was supposed that he was wounded in the action, as another warrior rode the same horse in some of the last charges.

After the retreat of the Indians the detachment were compelled to return with all speed to Fort M'Arthur, as their provisions were consumed, and they had to march forty miles before there was a possibility of supply.

On the 13th of December, General Tupper conducted another detachment to the rapids, consisting of between one thousand five hundred and two thousand men. On the east side of the Miami, a few miles above the rapids, a body of the enemy was discovered, consisting of three hundred British regulars and six hundred or seven hundred Indians. Having ascertained the position of the enemy, Tupper ordered a small detachment to advance and commence an attack, and then to retreat. This stratagem succeeded. The enemy pursued with impetuosity until they were nearly surrounded, and on being charged, were repulsed on all quarters with considerable slaughter, and put to flight. Fourteen or fifteen of the British, and seventy or eighty Indians, were left on the field. Many were likewise killed in swimming across the river, into which they precipitately plunged, that being their only means of escape.

While these operations were carried on on the borders of lake Erie, several expeditions were set on foot against

the Indian settlements in the Indiana and Illinois territories. A portion of the Kentucky volunteers, under General Hopkins, and a corps of Kentucky rangers, commanded by Colonel Russell, were particularly destined for this service. This force having met at Vincennes, it was agreed that Hopkins should first proceed to the relief of Fort Harrison, a post higher up the Wabash, which was at that time invested by the Indians, and should then proceed to the Peoria Indian towns on the river Illinois, where he was to be met by the rangers under Russell. Another detachment, under Captain Craig, was to join them at the same place. This last detachment, was to march up the Illinois river.

Captain Taylor, the commander at Fort Harrison, having received information of the approach of the hostile Indians a short time before they made their appearance, had used every precaution that the smallness of his garrison would admit of. The first hostile symptoms appeared on the evening of the 3d of September, when two young men, who had been employed a short distance from the fort, were shot and scalped, and were found in that condition the next morning by a small party that had been sent out to seek them. This circumstance caused them to redouble their vigilance, and the officers of the guard were directed to walk the round all night, in order if possible to prevent any surprise.

About 11 o'clock on the evening of the 4th, the garrison being alarmed by the firing of one of the sentinels, every man instantly flew to his post. In a few minutes the cry of fire added to the alarm; when it was discovered that the lower block-house, in which had been deposited the property of the contractor, had been fired by the Indians. Such was the darkness of the night, that although the upper part of the building was occupied by a corporal's guard as an alarm post, yet the Indians succeeded in firing it undiscovered, and unfortunately, a few minutes after the discovery of the fire, it communicated to a quantity of whiskey that had been deposited there, and immediately ascended to the roof, baffling every effort that was made to extinguish it. As the block-house

adjoined the barracks, which constituted part of the fortifications, most of the men gave themselves up for lost; and indeed the raging of the fire, the yells of the Indians, and the cries of the women and children (who had taken refuge in the fort,) were sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. Happily the presence of mind of the commander never forsook him. He instantly stationed a part of his men on the roof of the barracks, with orders to tear off that part adjoining the block-house, while the remainder kept up a constant fire on the Indians from another block-house and two bastions. The roof was torn off under a shower of bullets from without, by which, however, only one man was killed and two wounded.

By this success the soldiers were inspired with firmness, and now used such exertions, that before day they had not only extinguished the fire, but raised a breast-work five or six feet high in the gap occasioned by the burning of the block-house, although the Indians continued to pour in a heavy fire of ball and showers of arrows during the whole time the attack lasted (which was seven hours,) in every part of the parade.

On the first appearance of the fire, two of the soldiers had, in despair, jumped the pickets. One of them returned about an hour before day, and, running up towards the gate, begged for God's sake that it might be opened. On suspicion that this was an Indian stratagem, he was fired at. He then ran to the other bastion, where, his voice being known, he was directed to lie down till daylight behind an empty barrel that happened to be outside of the pickets. This poor fellow was shockingly wounded, and his companion cut to pieces by the Indians.

After keeping up a constant fire till six in the morning, which after daylight was returned with considerable effect by the garrison, the Indians retreated out of reach of the guns. They then drove together all the horses and hogs in the neighbourhood, and shot them in sight of their owners. The whole of the horned cattle they succeeded in carrying off.

In this attack the Americans had but three killed, and three wounded, including the two that jumped the pickets. The

Indian loss was supposed to be considerable, but as they always carry off both their dead and wounded, the amount could not be ascertained. At the moment of the attack there were only fifteen effective men in the garrison, the others being either sick or convalescent.

The Indians, disheartened by this failure, made no further attempt on the fort, but the garrison still remained in a perilous situation, as the greater part of their provisions had been destroyed by the fire, and the loss of their stock prevented future supplies. Captain Taylor therefore attempted to send, by night, two men in a canoe down the river to Vincennes, to make known his situation, but they were forced to return, the river being found too well guarded. The Indians had made a fire on the bank of the river, a short distance below the garrison, which gave them an opportunity of seeing any craft that might attempt to pass, with a canoe ready below to intercept it. A more fortunate attempt was made by land, and the garrison was immediately after relieved by the force under General Hopkins, consisting of nearly four thousand men.

After the relief of Fort Harrison, Hopkins began his preparations for his expedition against the Peoria towns. They commenced their march on the morning of the 15th of October, and continued it for four days in a direction nearly north. But here again the spirit of insubordination began to show itself. The general states in his official despatch, that having ordered a halt in the afternoon of the 4th day, in a fine piece of grass, for the purpose of refreshing the horses, he was addressed by one of his majors, in the most rude and dictatorial manner, requiring him instantly to resume his march, or his battalion would break from the army and return. Of the reply of the general to this modest request we are not informed. Next evening, however, an event took place, which seems to have spread the spirit of discontent through the whole detachment. A violent gust of wind having arisen about sun-set, just as the troops had encamped, the Indians set fire to the prairie all around them, which drove furiously

on the camp. They succeeded, however, in protecting themselves by firing the grass around the encampment.

Next morning, in consequence of the discontent that prevailed, the general called a council of his officers, to whom he stated his apprehensions, the expectations of the country, and the disgrace attending the failure of the expedition ; and, on the other hand, the exhausted state of the horses, and the want of provisions. He then requested the commandants of each regiment to convene the whole of the officers belonging to it, and to take fully the sense of the army on the measures to be pursued ; adding, that if five hundred volunteers turned out he would put himself at their head, and proceed in quest of the Indian towns, and the rest of the army might return to Fort Harrison. In less than an hour the report was made almost unanimously to return. In vain did the general request that he might dictate the course for that day only. His authority was now at an end ; and all the efforts of the officers were necessary to restore order in the ranks, and to conduct the retreat without danger from the surrounding though unseen foe.*

Though this expedition returned almost without obtaining the sight of an enemy, yet it was not altogether unproductive of benefit. The Indians of the neighbouring towns, hearing of its approach, had marched the greater part of their warriors to meet it, leaving their villages in a defenceless condition. In this state they were found by Colonel Russell, who had marched upon them in the expectation of meeting with Hopkins' army, and his detachment attacked and defeated those who had been left behind. Having driven them into a swamp, through which the rangers pursued them for three miles, up to their waists in mud and water, he returned and burnt their towns, and destroyed their corn. The number of warriors who advanced to meet Hopkins from those towns is stated to have amounted to seven hundred ; Russell's force consisted of not more than four hundred men. A considerable number of Indians were killed in this attack. On the

* Historical Register.

part of the Americans there were only four wounded, none of them mortally.

Craig's force was still smaller than that under Russell; it is stated to have consisted of not more than eighty men. With this small body he marched up the Illinois river, twenty miles above the town destroyed by Russell. Here he attacked an Indian settlement, which he totally destroyed, with all the improvements, and took forty-two prisoners, one of them an Englishman, and a large collection of furs. He returned with his prisoners and booty, without the loss of a man.

In the month of November another Indian expedition was undertaken by General Hopkins, with about twelve hundred and fifty men. This was directed against the towns on the Wabash, where the battle of Tippecanoe had been fought about twelve months before. Having left Fort Harrison on the 11th, accompanied with boats for the transportation of provisions, forage, and military stores, Hopkins arrived at the Prophet's town on the 19th, without interruption. Early in the morning of that day, three hundred men were detached to surprise the Winebago town, on Ponce Passu creek, a short distance below the Prophet's. Having surrounded it about the break of day, they were surprised to find it evacuated. The party, accordingly, after destroying it, rejoined the main body at the Prophet's town.

For three days Hopkins' detachment was employed in achieving the complete destruction of the Prophet's town, and the large Kickapoo village adjoining, the former consisting of forty and the latter of one hundred and sixty cabins and huts. They likewise destroyed all their cultivated fields, fences, &c. and constructed works for the defence of the boats and of the encampment.

On the 21st a reconnoitring party were attacked by a body of Indians, and one of their number killed. The following day sixty horsemen were despatched to bury their comrade, and gain a better knowledge of the ground, but they unfortunately fell into an ambuscade, in which eighteen of the party were killed, wounded, or missing. This party, on their re-

turn, brought information of a large assemblage of the enemy, who, encouraged by the strength of their camp, appeared to be waiting an attack. Every preparation was accordingly made to march early next morning, to engage the enemy. A violent fall of snow, however, prevented the movement on the 23d; and the camp was found abandoned on the following day. The position which the Indians had thus abandoned is spoken of as having been remarkably strong. The Ponce Passu, a deep rapid creek, was in their rear, running in a semicircle; in front was a bluff, one hundred feet high, almost perpendicular, and only to be penetrated by three steep ravines.

On the return of the troops to camp, the river was found so full of ice, as to alarm them for the return of the boats. Hopkins had intended to have spent one week more in endeavouring to find the Indian camps; but the shoeless, shirtless state of the troops, now clad in the remnants of their summer dress; a river full of ice; the hills covered with snow; and, above all, the uncertainty of finding an enemy; all these circumstances determined him to return. They accordingly set out on the 25th, and in a few days arrived at Fort Harrison, having completed a march of upwards of one hundred miles into the Indian country, which is totally devoid of roads, and destroyed three of their principal towns, in the space of less than twenty days.

The last Indian expedition of which mention is made, in this quarter, is one which was commanded by Colonel Campbell, consisting of six hundred men, which marched from Greenville (Ohio) against the towns on the Mississinewa, a branch of the Wabash.

On the 17th of December, after marching all night, Campbell arrived at one of the towns about day-break, which he instantly attacked, and the Indians were driven across the Mississinewa river, with the loss of seven killed and thirty-seven prisoners. Only one American was killed and one wounded in this skirmish. After securing the prisoners, a part of the detachment was despatched down the river, who returned the same

day, having burned three villages without resistance. They then encamped on the ground where the first village stood.

The following morning, a little before day-light, the camp was attacked by a body of Indians, supposed to be about three hundred. They commenced their attack on the right, with a horrid yell. After a desperate conflict of about three quarters of an hour, a charge was made by the cavalry, which forced the Indians to retreat, leaving forty killed on the field. In this affair the Americans had eight killed, and twenty-five or thirty wounded.

Another attack was anticipated, as information was received that Tecumseh, with four or five hundred warriors, was only fifteen miles from the scene of action; but reinforcements shortly after arriving from Greenville, they effected their retreat without molestation.*

The country which borders on Lake Ontario, bears very little resemblance to that through which the war, the details of which we have just narrated, was carried. The settlements of American citizens extended to the shores of the lakes; and the fertility of the surrounding country, as well as the excellence and security of the communication with the Atlantic frontier, afforded every convenience for the operations of regular hostility. The ample bosom of the lakes presented a fair field for the manœuvres of naval warfare, and an easy conveyance to an invading army. The militia, too, of the states of New York and Pennsylvania, two of the most populous and powerful of the confederacy, had testified a desire to co-operate with the regular force, both in the defence of their territory, and in the prosecution of offensive measures. The northern and eastern frontiers were therefore considered, with reason, those from which the provinces of the enemy could be most efficiently invaded.

The American forces on this frontier were stationed at Plattsburg, under Brigadier-General Bloomfield; at Buffalo, under Brigadier-General Smith; at Sackett's Harbour, Black-Rock, and Ogdenburg, the whole being under the command

* Historical Register.

of Major General Dearborn. The militia of the state of New York, amounting to about three thousand five hundred men, and commanded by Major General Van Rensselaer, were then in the service of the United States and stationed at Lewistown.

Owing to the repeal of the orders in council and an armistice between Sir George Prevost, the Governor General of Canada, and Major General Dearborn, it was late in the season before any action of importance took place between the two armies. The regular officers, and those of the militia were employed in organizing and disciplining their troops, of which both species of force stood very much in need. Several skirmishes had, indeed, taken place between small parties, in which great enterprise and bravery were displayed.

On the 21st of September, Captain Forsyth, after defeating a superior force of the enemy, captured a small village in Canada, and brought off a considerable quantity of military stores with some prisoners. By way of retaliation for this exploit, an attack was soon after made, on the town of Ogdensburg, by about four hundred British troops, after a heavy bombardment from the opposite shore. They were met, with great gallantry, by the Americans, under Brigadier-General Brown, of the New York militia; and, after an obstinate contest, were obliged to relinquish their attempt, with the loss of many men.

The season for military operations being now far advanced, and the militia, displaying great eagerness to be led against the enemy, General Van Rensselaer, determined to make an attack on the British post at Queenstown; situated on the Canada side of the Niagara, directly opposite to his quarters at Lewistown. The morning of the 11th of October, had been fixed upon for this attempt, but, on account of the tempestuous violence of the weather, and the want of a sufficient number of boats, it was postponed until the morning of the 13th at break of day.

There were at Lewistown about two thousand five hundred New York militia, as yet perfectly raw and undisciplined. Two hundred regulars had arrived in detachments from Fort Niagara, under Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick and Chrystie,

and Major Mullany, on the night of the 12th, to join in the expedition. It was intended that Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, of the militia, should have the chief command of the expedition, the plan of which seems to have been this: two columns were to make a simultaneous descent on the British shore, one of about three hundred militia, under Colonel Van Rensselaer, the other, consisting of an equal number of regulars from the thirteenth regiment, under Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie. Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick, with Major Mullany's detachment, was to sustain both columns.

All the boats which had been collected were divided equally between Colonel Van Rensselaer and Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie, but neither of them had enough to enable him to embark his whole column at once. This circumstance was productive of the most serious evils; the troops were brought into action by piece meal, without order or concert, and the boats did not return with any regularity for those who had been left. Colonel Van Rensselaer, however, effected a landing with the greater part of the two columns, but Christie was less fortunate; his boat was soon perforated by the fire of the enemy's artillery, which had been early awakened, and became unmanageable; he himself was slightly wounded. With some difficulty he regained the American shore, about half a mile below the point of embarkation. The subsequent embarkations were yet more irregular. The number of boats which had been originally provided, about twelve or fourteen, was altogether inadequate, and several of these had been lost early in the attack. The pilots and boatmen became irresolute, and finally fled from the ferry.

Under these circumstances, about day-break, Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick and Major Mullany embarked as many as they could (about two hundred in all) of the remaining detachment. This division of boats, without pilots was forced, by the violence of the current, upon the enemy's shore, immediately under his batteries; and the whole detachment was taken, with the exception of Major Mullany, who, with eight or ten men, escaped in a boat. Lieutenant Colonel Fenwick was severely

wounded in three or four places. The troops which had effected their landing were immediately in action; the enemy gradually gave ground in front of Colonel Van Rensselaer, who, after having advanced one hundred and fifty paces, received two severe wounds, and was forced to leave the field; not, however, without having first imparted to the officers nearest to him such local information as he possessed with respect to the ground to be contested, and endeavoured to animate them to prosecute the attack, by exhortations such as courage dictated. There was now no common commander; the regulars took the lead, under Captains Wool, Malcolm, Armstrong, Ogilvie, and Lieutenant Randolph, who independently commanded their several companies. Other small parties, of twenty or thirty men each, followed on, as the boats successively arrived. These gallant young men were soon in possession of the greater height, called the mountain, having in their ascent carried a battery of one eighteen pounder and two mortars, which was planted midway the acclivity. The enemy, beaten and dispersed, fled to the village of Queens-town. Here the fugitives were met and rallied by General Brock, who brought up with him a detachment of the York volunteers, and instantly advanced to the charge. The path of his ascent was winding and difficult. At the distance of a hundred paces from the American line, this gallant and accomplished soldier fell at the head of his troops, who were again instantly dispersed. At this instant, eight o'clock in the morning, Lieutenant Colonel Scott arrived on the heights, having been ordered over to take the command of the whole of the troops engaged; but the presence of Brigadier General Wadsworth of the militia, who had crossed without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief, soon obliged him to limit his attention to the regulars, of whom, about two hundred and thirty in all, he retained the independent command. Every arrangement was promptly made for the reception of the enemy. Assisted by the judgment of Captain Totten of the engineers, Scott drew up his little army in a strong position. This was chosen with a view not only to receive the

enemy, but also to cover the ferry, under the idea that they would speedily be reinforced by the whole of the troops at Lewistown. The enemy allowed them but a short breathing time.

The first gun which had been fired in the morning had put in motion the garrison at Fort George, and the body of Indians collected there. The latter, about four hundred in number, arrived first, and were joined by the light troops previously engaged. A sharp and gallant conflict ensued. Scott received the enemy with his regulars, routed and pursued him as far as the great object in view, the protection of the ferry, would permit. Our troops having resumed their position, the enemy, from his great superiority in numbers, was induced to renew the attack, drove in the advanced picket, and forced his way into the midst of the American line. All was now confusion; defeat and massacre seemed inevitable. At the critical moment Scott, who had been everywhere in the thickest of the fire, by great exertions brought the retreating line to *the right about*. With one of those sudden revolutions of feelings which act upon large bodies of men, so instantaneously and so wonderfully, his troops seemed at once to catch the spirit of their leader. With one burst of enthusiasm, as sudden as the panic of the preceding moment, the line, which had just before been retreating in broken confusion, now threw itself forward on the enemy, who again fled with precipitation, leaving a considerable number of dead and wounded on the field. The rout was followed up a considerable distance, but the ferry could not be lost sight of. Throughout these affairs, the militia did not act in a body, but many gallant individuals among them fought, as *individuals*, by the side of the regulars, and participated in their dangers and successes.

The Indians and light troops, so frequently beaten, were now content to await the arrival of the garrison of Fort George, (eight hundred and fifty in number,) then in sight, at the distance of a mile, under Major General Sheaffe. Lieutenant Colonel Chrystie and Major Mullany, who had joined Scott

during the last pursuit, but without any reinforcements, brought information that no aid was to be expected from Lewistown. Major General Van Rensselaer had done every thing in his power to induce the militia to cross over, but the sight of Sheaffe's column excited in them "*constitutional scruples*" not to be overcome. They were contented to watch the fate of their countrymen, on the opposite heights, themselves far removed from danger. Retreat had now become as hopeless as succour. The few remaining boats were on the American side. Scott resolved to receive the enemy on the ground which he occupied, when, if any survived the shock, it would be time enough to surrender. Major General Sheaffe approached warily with his force, suspecting the small band in view to be but the outpost of the principal army. At length they closed; the action was sharp, bloody, and desperate, for some eight or ten minutes, when, being nearly surrounded on all sides, the Americans broke and retreated to the bank of the river, under cover of the precipice. The greatest mortification experienced by those who had done their duty, was to find, under the rocks and the fissures of the precipice, upwards of one hundred of the militia, who, it seems, had been forced over the river, but never ascended the height, or came within sight of the enemy.

During the whole of these affairs, Scott exposed his person in the most fearless manner. He was in his full uniform, and being, besides, remarkable for his stature, was evidently singled out as a mark. He was advised by an officer to throw aside, or cover some part of his dress: No, said he smiling, I will die in my robes. Captain Laurence soon after fell dangerously (it was then thought, mortally) wounded, by his side. After he had surrendered himself, an Indian came up to Colonel Scott, and, attentively surveying him, said, you are not born to be shot—so many times—(holding up all the fingers of both hands, to count ten)—so many times have I levelled, and fired my rifle at you.

From Queenstown Scott was sent a prisoner to Quebec;





thence, about a month after, he embarked for Boston. He was exchanged in January, 1813, soon after his return to the United States.*

Thus ended the battle of Queenstown, in which the Americans engaged, with the exception, perhaps, of a few of the militia, behaved with the utmost coolness and bravery. The refusal of the rear division to cross the river, alone prevented them from reaping the fruits of their exertions, while it rendered doubly brilliant the conduct of those who did their duty to their country and themselves. The loss of the Americans in this battle is variously stated, but it is believed not to have exceeded one thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of whom, perhaps, more than one half were regulars. The loss of the enemy is not known, but must have been considerable, as they were twice repulsed, and driven down the heights. The death of their brave commander, General Brock, was a severe misfortune, and one which they felt in a peculiar manner in all their subsequent operations. The Americans showed their respect for his character by firing minute guns from Fort Niagara during the funeral procession.

General Van Rensselaer shortly after this affair resigned his command, which devolved on General Smyth, who, towards the end of November, projected another expedition, which was to have sailed from Buffalo, at the head of the Niagara river. This expedition failed from the same cause which brought about the disaster at Queenstown, the refusal of the militia to cross the lines.

Preparatory to the intended invasion, two parties were sent over, the one for the purpose of capturing a guard and destroying a bridge, below Fort Erie, the other to spike the cannon in the enemy's batteries, and some light artillery in the neighbourhood. The first party made some prisoners, but failed to destroy the bridge. The second, after rendering unserviceable the light artillery, separated by some misapprehension, and a part of them returned with the boats, leaving behind four officers, and sixty men. This small body, how-

* *Analectic Magazine.*

ever, advanced to the batteries, attacked and took two of them in succession, spiked the cannon, and took a number of prisoners. They then retreated down the Niagara, where they found two boats, on board of which thirty of the privates, three officers, and all the prisoners embarked, leaving behind a captain and thirty men, who were captured by the British before the boats could return.

Meanwhile, as soon as day began to appear, all the troops in the neighbourhood were marched to the place of embarkation. A part of the detachment which had passed to the opposite shore having now returned and excited apprehensions for the residue, about three hundred and fifty men under colonel Winder put off in boats for their relief, and a part of this force had landed, when a superior force with a piece of artillery appeared. A retreat was then ordered, which was effected with a loss of six killed and twenty-two wounded.

The general embarkation now commenced ; but there not being a greater number of boats than would hold one thousand men, a council of officers was held, at which it was determined, that as positive orders had been received not to cross with less than three thousand men, it was inexpedient to make the attempt until a sufficient number of boats could be procured for the whole number to embark at once ; dependence being still placed on the volunteering of the militia, it was thought that the actual number of volunteers could not be determined without an embarkation. The boats were accordingly moved a short distance up the river, and the troops disembarked.

An additional number of boats being procured, another embarkation took place on the morning of the first of December, but still no attempt was made to cross. After remaining in the boats a few hours, the troops were ordered to be withdrawn, and huts to be built for their winter-quarters.

Nothing could exceed the mortification of the troops on this occasion, nor indeed the disgust felt generally throughout the country. Proclamations had been issued by General Smyth a short time previous, in which reflections had been

cast on the conductors of the former enterprises against Canada, and the "men of New York" had been called on to join the army for a few weeks, and acquire glory and renown under his banners. A number of volunteers had been collected by this invitation, some of whom had come a considerable distance. Their mortification may easily be conceived!

General Smyth, in his official report, relies, for his justification, on the positive orders that he had received not to cross without three thousand men at once, and states that considerably less than two thousand was the extent of the force which could be depended upon. If this were the case, Smyth was certainly fully justified in declining the invasion; but it is to be lamented that measures for ascertaining the strength of the army could not have been adopted without such a waste of public patriotism, and such a degradation of the military character. Perhaps the public mind was never so much distracted, nor public confidence so much shaken as on this occasion.*

The troops whose attempts we have just narrated were denominated "*the army of the centre*," to distinguish them from the "*north-western*" force, and the "*northern army*." No operation of any importance was undertaken by the last during this season. A large body of regulars had been collected during the summer and autumn, which, at the close of October were concentrated at Plattsburg. General Dearborn, who commanded, had his head quarters at Greenbush; while Generals Bloomfield and Chandler were at the head of brigades. At length, on the 16th of November, the army broke up from Plattsburg, and moved towards the Canada frontier. On the 18th, it encamped at Champlain, within a short distance of the lines; and, on the succeeding day, General Dearborn took the command. On the same day, Colonel Pike, an officer of great merit, advanced, with his regiment several miles into the enemy's country; surprised a body of British and Indians; destroyed a considerable quantity of public stores, and returned without much loss. It was now expected that the

* Historical Register.

whole army would advance into Canada; but, probably from the lateness of the season, and the failure of the attempts on the borders of Lake Erie and Ontario, the enterprise was abandoned; and, on the 23d the troops returned to Plattsburg, at which place and its vicinity they went into winter quarters.

The first campaign of the war had now closed, upon all parts of the Canada frontier. Although no event, strikingly beneficial to the nation, had occurred, and, in one melancholy instance, serious inconvenience had been experienced, yet many useful lessons were taught, and much practical information gained. The individual bravery of the various species of forces engaged, was exhibited on many occasions; and talents were there first displayed, which afterwards gained for their possessors promotion and renown.





CHAPTER XVI.

Northern Campaign of 1813.



GREAT exertions were now made in the west to retrieve the disgrace of Hull's expedition. The total amount of the force under the command of General Harrison, was estimated at ten thousand men. From the extreme rigour of the season, however, it was supposed that the whole effective force on the frontier did not exceed six thousand three hundred, which appear to have been entirely infantry. This force was to proceed in three divisions from Fort Defiance, Fort M'Arthur, and Upper Sandusky, to the Rapids of the Miami; there to collect provisions; and making a feint upon Detroit, cross the strait upon the ice, and

invest Malden. General Winchester arrived first at the Rapids, and being strongly urged by the inhabitants of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin to protect them from the violence and outrage of the horde of savages by whom they were surrounded, and to whose brutalities they were daily exposed. Yielding to the call of humanity, Winchester, on the 17th of January, by the unanimous advice of his officers, but, it appears, without consulting General Harrison, detached a body of about seven hundred and fifty men, under General Lewis, to their relief.

On the following day, when within three miles of Frenchtown, information was received that a body of British and Indians were encamped at that place, and that they had received notice of their approach. The troops were accordingly arranged and directed to prepare for action, and then proceeded within a quarter of a mile of the enemy, who immediately commenced a fire with a howitzer, from which, however, no injury was received. The line of battle being instantly formed, the whole detachment was ordered to advance across the river on the ice; in which they succeeded, though it was in many places extremely slippery. The left wing and centre were then ordered to possess themselves of the houses and picketing about which the enemy had collected, and where they had placed their cannon. This order was executed in a few minutes. Both battalions advanced amidst an incessant shower of bullets, and succeeded in dislodging the enemy, neither the picketing nor the fencing over which they had to pass checking their progress.

The right wing fell in with the enemy at a considerable distance to the right, and pursued them a mile to the woods, where they made a stand with their howitzer and small arms, covered by a chain of enclosed lots and a group of houses, with a thick brushy wood full of fallen timber in their rear. Lewis now ordered the left and centre to possess themselves of the wood on the left, and to move up towards the main body of the enemy as fast as practicable, in order to divert their attention from the right. At the moment that the left

and centre commenced their fire, the right advanced, and the enemy being soon driven from the fences and houses, both parties entered the wood together. The fight now became close, and extremely hot on the right wing, the enemy concentrating their forces on that side, in order to force the line. They were, however, still obliged to retreat, although slowly, the Americans being much fatigued, and were driven, on the whole, not less than two miles, every foot of the way under a continual charge.

The battle lasted from three in the afternoon till dark, when the detachment was drawn off in good order, and encamped at the place which the enemy had first occupied.

The force of the enemy in this affair has never been exactly ascertained ; but from the best information, there were eighty to one hundred British and four hundred Indians. The number of their killed and wounded is likewise unknown, as they were enabled to carry off all but those left on the field where the battle commenced, which was about fifteen ; but from the blood, the trails of bodies dragged off, and the reports of the people who lived near the place, the slaughter must have been great. One Indian and two of the Canadian militia were taken prisoners. A quantity of public stores was also taken. The loss of the Americans was twelve killed and fifty-five wounded. On the 20th, General Winchester joined the detachment, with a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty men.

Meanwhile Colonel Proctor, who commanded at Detroit, hearing of the approach of the Americans, advanced to meet them with a body of one thousand five hundred Indians and British, three hundred of whom were regulars. On the night of the 21st he discovered the American detachment, and early next morning commenced an attack on their lines. The attack commenced at six in the morning, by a heavy fire of musketry, assisted by six field pieces. The main body of the Americans were stationed within pickets on the left ; a smaller force, unprotected, occupied the right, who gallantly sustained the shock for a quarter of an hour, when they be-

gan to give ground for the purpose of forming in a situation more favourable for their fire, and less exposed to that of the enemy. At this moment Winchester arrived at the place of conflict, his quarters having been at the distance of three or four hundred yards from the camp, and his attention was immediately directed to rally the retreating party. This retreat, however, being discovered by the enemy, the whole Indian force, together with a portion of the militia, bore down upon them with redoubled violence, and by the superiority of their numbers, and the severity of their fire, prevented their forming. After a short conflict, in which they suffered severely, all that survived were made prisoners.

The left, who were stationed within the pickets, maintained their ground for several hours, and repulsed the British regulars, in three successive charges, with great slaughter. About eleven o'clock, however, Winchester was brought in as a prisoner to this part of the field, and perceiving that resistance was in vain, and influenced by the threat of their being abandoned to savage fury unless they instantly surrendered, he acceded to a capitulation, and sent a flag to the pickets to inform them they were prisoners.

General Harrison was at Lower Sandusky, when he received the intelligence of Lewis having advanced to the river Raisin, and fearing that he might be overpowered, he immediately set out for the Rapids, which he found that Winchester had just left with the reinforcement. When the news of Winchester's disaster reached Harrison, he was about three miles above the Rapids, with three hundred and sixty men. He immediately ordered them to prepare to march, and set out with his staff to overtake a detachment of three hundred men that had set out that morning for the river Raisin. He soon overtook them ; but before the troops that he had left came up, it was ascertained that the defeat was complete, and it was the unanimous opinion of the officers that the detachment should return. A hundred and seventy of the most active men, however, were sent forward, with directions to proceed as far as possible to assist those who were fortunate

.

enough to escape. These, however, were but few: the snow was so deep that the fugitives were entirely exhausted in running a few miles; those that did get off effected it by turning down to the lake, and secreting themselves. There were not more than forty or fifty that got a mile from the scene of action, and the greater part even of these were overtaken.

Though the resistance on the part of the Americans was put an end to by the capitulation concluded by Winchester, we regret to say, that the most tragical events of this disastrous day are still to be recorded, events which affix an indelible stain on the arms of the British. After the battle the British returned to Malden with their prisoners, except about fifty or sixty wounded, who were not able to march. A few of the Indians remained behind, who, being joined next morning by about fifty more from Malden, immediately commenced a massacre of the wounded Americans, and afterwards set fire to the houses in which they had been left, and consumed their remains. The same day the Indians massacred a number of their prisoners who had not been wounded, whose remains they would not suffer to be interred, but left them above ground, where they were torn to pieces and devoured by hogs. These horrid outrages are but too well substantiated, not only by the inhabitants of Frenchtown, but by some of the officers who had the good fortune to escape, by being purchased from the savages. Great indignities were likewise inflicted on a surgeon and his two companions, who, a few days after the battle, had been despatched by Harrison with a flag of truce, to attend to the wounded. One of them was killed by the Indians, and the others robbed of the money with which they had been intrusted by the general, for the relief of the most pressing wants of the wounded. After suffering many indignities, not only from the Indians but from the British, under the flimsy pretext of their using the flag only as a cover, they were at length set at liberty at Montreal, whither they had been carried and imprisoned.

On the 23d of January, the day after the surrender of

Winchester, Harrison retreated to Carrying river, about midway between Sandusky and the Miami. In the following month he again advanced to the Rapids, where he constructed a fort, which, in honour of the Governor of Ohio, was named Fort Meigs. This fort contains about nine acres of ground, nearly in an octagon form. At each corner is a strong block-house, with cannon planted so as to rake each line, and command every elevated point near the fort. Between the block-houses are strong picketings fifteen feet in height, against which a breast-work of clay is thrown up on both sides, and in addition to this, several long batteries were erected, which were well supplied with cannon.

The term of service of a large portion of the militia in Harrison's army having expired, one thousand two hundred men were called out by the Governor of Kentucky, and despatched under General Green Clay to supply their place. They left Cincinnati, their place of rendezvous, in the beginning of April, and arrived near Fort Meigs on the 4th of May, which they learnt was besieged by a large force of British and Indians, under General Proctor.

Proctor had set out for Fort Meigs with one thousand British and one thousand two hundred Indians, about the middle of April, with the expectation of capturing it before the arrival of Harrison's reinforcements and supplies, but, owing to incessant and heavy rains, he was not able to open his batteries before the first of May. A brisk firing was kept up on both sides until the fifth, when a small party of General Clay's detachment arrived, with information of the rest being close at hand.*

General Harrison determined to make a sally against the enemy; and sent an officer with directions to General Clay, to land about eight hundred men, about a mile above the camp; with orders to storm the British batteries on the left bank of the river, to spike the cannon, and cross to the fort. The remainder of the men were to land on the right side, and fight their way into the camp, through the Indians. During

* Historical Register.

this operation, General Harrison intended to send a party from the fort to destroy the batteries on the south side.

In conformity with this direction, a body of men under Colonel Dudley, were landed in good order, at the place of destination. They were divided into three columns, when within half a mile of the British batteries, which it was intended to surround. Unfortunately, no orders appear to have been given by the commanding officer, and the utmost latitude was, in consequence taken by the troops. The left column being in advance, rushed upon the batteries and carried them without opposition, there being only a few artillerymen on the spot. Instead, however, of spiking the cannon, or destroying the carriages, the whole body either loitered in fatal security in the neighbourhood, or, with their colonel, were engaged in an irregular and imprudent contest with a small party of Indians. The orders and entreaties of General Harrison were in vain ; and the consequences were such as might have been foreseen, had the commanding officer possessed the slightest portion of military knowledge. The fugitive artillerymen returned, with a reinforcement from the British camp, which was two miles below. A retreat was commenced in disorder by the Americans ; most of whom were captured by the British or Indians, or were killed in the pursuit. Among the latter was Colonel Dudley. About two hundred escaped into the fort : and thus this respectable body of men, who, if properly disciplined and commanded, might have defeated the operations of the enemy, became the victims of their own imprudence.

The remainder of General Clay's command were not much more successful. Their landing was impeded by the Indians, whom they routed, and, with their characteristic impetuosity, pursued to too great a distance. General Harrison, perceiving a large force of the enemy advancing, sent to recall the victors from the pursuit. The retreat was not, however, effected without considerable loss, the Indians having rallied, and, in turn, pursued them for some distance.*

* Ramsay.

The sortie, made by a detachment under Colonel Miller, of the regulars, gained for those who participated in it, much more reputation. The party, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, advanced to the British batteries with the most determined bravery, and succeeded in spiking the cannon, driving back their opponents, who were supposed to be double their number, and capturing forty prisoners. The enemy suffered severely; but rallied, and pressed upon the detachment, until it reached the breast-work. The attempt to raise the siege was thus defeated, from the imprudence and insubordination of the troops engaged, rather than from any original defect in the plan. Proctor, however, finding himself still unable to storm the intrenchments, and being deserted by many of his Indian allies, who began to be weary of so long a siege, made a precipitate retreat on the 9th of May, having previously secured his ordnance on board a sloop. The celebrated chieftain, Tecumseh, particularly distinguished himself in the siege of Fort Meigs. The loss of the garrison during the siege was about two hundred and sixty in killed and wounded, principally in the attempt of General Clay, and the sortie on the 5th.*

No event of consequence took place on the New York frontier during the winter. The opposing armies being divided by a barrier of ice, not sufficiently strong to allow of the transportation of artillery, peace was only disturbed by a few petty incursions, which each party justified by the plea of retaliation.

On the 6th of February, Captain Forsythe, the commanding officer at Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence, received information that several men who had deserted from the opposite shore, on the ice, had been taken on the American side by a party of British, and carried off and confined in the jail at Brockville.

In consequence of this intrusion, as it was deemed, Forsythe the same evening crossed over with about two hundred militia and riflemen, for the purpose of retaking the

* Murray.

prisoners, and capturing the military stores at Brockville. On approaching the Canada shore, a flanking company was detached above, and another below the town, to secure all the passes, to prevent information being communicated to the country. Before the main force reached the shore they were fired at by the sentinels, but, instead of returning it they rushed through the main street to the jail, which was instantly carried, the prisoners liberated, and then the magazine was secured. The troops in the town were completely surprised. One major, three captains, three lieutenants, one surgeon's mate, and forty-two privates, together with their arms, besides one hundred and thirty rifles and muskets captured by the British at Detroit, and several casks of powder and fixed ammunition, were secured and brought off. Perfect order was observed by the officers and men, scrupulous respect paid to private property, and no injury was done to any individual. Although a severe fire was kept up from the houses as the Americans advanced to the jail, there were none killed, and but one wounded.

The following evening a party of forty-six Indians, headed by a British officer, crossed over from Prescott, a village in Canada, a mile and a half above Ogdensburg, for the purpose of capturing a picket guard of nine men, belonging to Forsythe's company. They succeeded in taking the sentinel on post, and then attacked the guard, but were repulsed by their steady bravery, aided by their advantageous position. The succeeding evening fifteen or twenty American volunteers again crossed, and took a lieutenant and two men, together with fifteen or twenty stand of arms.

On the morning of the 22d of February, the British crossed over in considerable force, and succeeded in capturing Ogdensburg. Forsythe, with a force of less than half that of the British, effected his retreat to Black Lake in a masterly manner. Considerable alarm for the safety of Sackett's Harbour was excited by this event, and immediate measures were taken for reinforcing it. No attempts were made, how-

ever, at further conquest ; the British shortly after retired across the St. Lawrence.

The ice having disappeared on Lake Ontario about the middle of April, the look-out boat Growler sailed from Sackett's Harbour on the 19th to reconnoitre the lake, and immediate preparations were made for an embarkation of troops for the invasion of Canada. The troops, to the number of seventeen hundred, under the command of General Dearborn, were embarked by the 23d, but the weather proving stormy, the fleet did not sail till the 25th.*

On the 27th of April, General Pike arrived at York, with about seventeen hundred chosen men, and immediately prepared to land. The spot which was selected for landing, was the site of an old French fort called Torento, of which scarcely any vestiges now remain. The plan of attack was formed by General Pike himself, and clearly and minutely detailed in his general orders, which were directed to be read at the head of every corps ; every field officer was also directed to carry a copy of them, in order that he might at any moment refer to them, and give explanations to his subordinates. Every thing was arranged, and every probable exigency provided for with admirable method and precision.

As soon as the debarkation commenced, a body of British grenadiers was paraded on the shore, and the Glengary Fencibles, a local force which had been disciplined with great care, and had repeatedly proved itself fully equal to any regular force, appeared at another point. Large bodies of Indians were also seen in different directions, while others filled the woods which skirted the shore. General Sheaffe commanded in person.

Forsythe's riflemen were the first to land, which they effected under a heavy fire of musketry and rifles from the Indians and British. As soon as the fire from the shore commenced, Major Forsythe had ordered his men to rest for a few moments upon their oars, and return the fire. At this moment, Pike was standing upon the deck of his ship. He

* Historical Register.

saw the pause of his first division, and, impatient at the delay, exclaimed, "I can stay here no longer, come, jump into the boat;" and springing into it, followed by his staff, was immediately rowed into the thickest of the fire.

The infantry had followed the riflemen, and formed in platoons as soon as they reached the shore. General Pike took the command of the first platoon which he reached, and ordered the whole to prepare for a charge. They mounted the bank, and the enemy, after a short conflict, broke at once, and fled in disorder towards the works. At that moment, the sound of Forsythe's bugles was heard, announcing his success at another point. Its effect upon the Indians was almost electrical; they gave a horrible yell, and fled in every direction.

The whole force, being now landed and collected, was again formed and led on by General Pike in person to attack the enemy's works. They advanced through the woods, and after carrying one battery by assault, in the most gallant manner, moved on in columns towards the main work. The fire of the enemy was soon silenced by our artillery, and a flag of surrender was expected, when a terrible explosion suddenly took place from the British magazine, which had been previously prepared for this purpose. Pike, after aiding in removing a wounded man with his own hands, had sat down on the stump of a tree with a British sergeant, who had been taken, and was employed with Captain Nicholson and one of his aids in examining the prisoner. The explosion was tremendous; an immense quantity of large stones were thrown in every direction with terrible force, and scattered destruction and confusion around among our troops. The general, his aid, Captain Nicholson, and the prisoner, fell together, all, except the aid, mortally wounded. General Pike had been struck on the breast by a heavy stone.

The troops were instantly formed again; as a body of them passed by their wounded general, he said, "Push on, brave fellows, and avenge your general." While the surgeons were carrying him out of the field, a tumultuous huzza was

heard from our troops ; Pike turned his head with an anxious look of inquiry ; he was told by a sergeant, " The British union jack is coming down, general—the stars are going up." He heaved a heavy sigh, and smiled. He was then carried on board the commodore's ship, where he lingered for a few hours. Just before he breathed his last, the British standard was brought to him ; he made a sign to have it placed under his head, and expired without a groan.*

On the fall of General Pike, the command devolved on Colonel Pearce, who immediately advanced to the British barracks, which he found already occupied by Captain Forsythe's company.

As soon as the magazine was blown up, the British set fire to their naval stores and a ship on the stocks ; and then the regulars, with General Sheaffe at their head, made a precipitate retreat from the town. By two in the afternoon, the American flag was substituted for the British, and by five, the troops were in peaceable possession of York, a capitulation having been agreed on with the commanding officer of the militia, by whom the town, stores, and nearly three hundred men were surrendered. Besides these three hundred prisoners, the loss of the British was estimated by General Dearborn at about one hundred killed and three hundred wounded.

The American troops, in general, behaved with the coolness and bravery of veterans. Many of the officers were particularly distinguished, and several experienced the same melancholy fate with their general. The total loss of the American army, in killed and wounded, amounted to three hundred and twenty men, of whom thirty-eight were killed, and two hundred and twenty-two wounded by the explosion of the magazine.*

The day after the capture of York was employed in burying the dead. The public buildings, barracks, &c., were then destroyed, together with the military stores that could not be brought away, and by the 1st of May, the town was entirely evacuated, the militia prisoners paroled, and the troops em-

* Ramsay.



barked ; but, owing to contrary winds, the fleet did not sail till the 5th. During the whole time of their stay in Canada, the troops manifested the most scrupulous regard for the rights of private property. On the 8th, they were landed at a creek, distant about four miles from Niagara. On the succeeding day, a party of about one hundred men, under Captain Morgan, succeeded in taking some of the enemy's stores, at the head of the lake. On the 10th, the squadron sailed for Sacketts' Harbour, conveying there the wounded officers and men ; and, on the 24th, returned with a reinforcement of three hundred and fifty of the regiment of artillery, and some pieces of ordnance.*

Major General Dearborn, having assembled a force of near five thousand men, now determined on attempting the reduction of the Peninsula on the opposite side of the straits. Of this, Fort George was the bulwark. The necessary arrangements having been completed, at one o'clock in the morning, May 27th, the whole army embarked on lake Ontario, three miles east from Fort Niagara. It was arranged in six divisions of boats ; the first contained the advanced guard under Colonel Scott, who was specially selected for this command. This was followed by Colonel Porter with the field train, the brigades of Boyd, Winder, and Chandler, and a reserve under Colonel Macomb.

Commodore Chauncey was present with his squadron, and favoured the descent by the fire of his small schooners ; and Captain Perry, who was then serving under Commodore Chauncey, volunteered to conduct the divisions, which was an operation of some nicety, in consequence of the winds and a strong current, together with the early-roused fire of the enemy. In the discharge of this duty, he was present at every point where he could be useful, under showers of musketry, and rendered very essential services to the advance guard, which he accompanied nearly to its point of attack.

At nine in the morning, Colonel Scott effected his landing,

* Ramsay. Murray.

in good order, under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, about a mile and a quarter from the village of Newark, and the same distance west of the mouth of the Niagara. He formed his line on the beach of the lake, covered by a bank of twelve or fifteen feet in height, which served as a parapet against the enemy's fire. This bank was to be scaled against the bayonets of the enemy, who had now drawn up his force fifteen hundred strong, immediately on its brow. They were soon driven from their ground by a brisk and vigorous charge, but rallied, and took a second position behind a ravine, at a little distance. An action, of some twenty minutes, ensued ; it was short and desperate, and ended in the total rout of the enemy at every point. During the last five minutes, Boyd had landed in the rear of the advance guard, and a part of his brigade participated in the action. Colonel Scott pursued the rout as far as the village, where he was joined by the sixth regiment, under Colonel Miller ; from thence the enemy was closely pressed at a distance of five miles up the river, until Scott was recalled from the pursuit by order of General Lewis. As our troops approached towards Fort George, it was perceived that the garrison were in the act of abandoning the work. Two companies were instantly detached from the head of the pursuing column, to prevent this movement, and some prisoners were made. They were at the distance of about eighty paces from the fort, when one of its magazines blew up with a tremendous explosion. The front gate was instantly forced by our men ; Scott was the first to enter, and took with his own hands the British flag yet waving over the works. At the same time Captains Hindsman and Stockton snatched away the matches which had been applied by the retreating garrison to three other magazines.*

At the capture of York, the explosion was attributed by the British commander to accident ; and the loss of part of his own troops, to the number of about forty, by that explosion, appeared to corroborate the assertion. But the discovery of

* *Analectic Magazine.*

the matches, lighted and applied, at fort George, leads us to conclude, that the destruction of the Americans was premeditated in both cases. In the first, the destruction of the whole army was frustrated by the caution, and in the other, by the quickness and presence of mind, of the General. To a charge like this, of a proceeding so inconsistent with the principles of civilized war, the mind would hesitate to give belief, had not the previous conduct of the enemy been marked by an equal disregard for those rules. Posterity will scarcely credit a fact, which is nevertheless, stated upon the most conclusive authority,* that a human scalp was found suspended over the speaker's chair, in the house appropriated to the sittings of the legislature of Upper Canada.

The loss of the Americans in the attack on Fort George was thirty nine killed and one hundred and ten wounded; Lieutenant Hobart of the first brigade was the only officer killed. The British lost one hundred and eight killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded, who, together with one hundred and fifteen regulars, and five hundred militia, became prisoners.

After this engagement, the British force, under General Vincent, retired, and took a position on the heights of Burlington bay, about forty miles west of Fort George, where they concentrated their forces with reinforcements from Forts Erie and Chippewa. Generals Chandler and Winder were despatched from Fort George with two brigades, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of this body now amounting to fifteen hundred men. They were however surprised by a night attack of the enemy, both generals were captured, and the detachment compelled by the arrival of the British fleet, to retreat to Fort George. Lieutenant Colonel Boerstler, with five hundred and seventy men was next sent forward to Beaver Dams, to attack and disperse a body of the enemy who had collected there. On his way to that place, his detachment was surrounded by a large body of British and Indians and he was obliged to surrender.

The British troops being considerably reinforced and placed

* Commodore Chauncey's and General Dearborn's official letters.

under the command of Major-General De Rottenburgh, invested Fort George, without, however, making any regular attack upon it. Several affairs of outposts occurred, in which skilful manœuvring as well as individual bravery, were displayed. The American commander, finding that the British army still continued to employ the hostile Indians, at length determined to retaliate, by accepting the services of a number of that race, who were friendly to the United States. About four hundred warriors, principally of the Seneca nation, were accordingly received under his command, with an express covenant, that their treatment of the enemy should be similar to that pursued by the Americans. From this system of humanity, they do not appear to have ever deviated, a proof that their attachment to a sanguinary system of warfare may be restrained where the disposition to do so exists. They were found of great service to the American army on various occasions, in which they were opposed to the Indians in the service of the enemy.

On the 11th of July, a British force of about two hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Bishops, crossed the Niagara, and made a sudden attack upon the American post at Black Rock, driving before them the militia by whom it was garrisoned. They succeeded in setting fire to the barracks and other buildings ; and, after spiking the cannon carried off a quantity of provisions. On their retreat, however, they were assailed by the American troops, who poured a heavy fire upon them, by which their commander was mortally wounded, and a considerable loss otherwise sustained. In return for this exploit, a second attack was made upon the town of York, on the 28th of July. Colonel Scott, with about three hundred men, landed from Commodore Chauncey's squadron on that day, and having destroyed all the public stores and property, and released a number of American prisoners, returned without loss.

While the greater part of the Americans were thus engaged on the Canada frontier the British resolved to make an

attack on Sackett's Harbour, then in a comparatively defenceless state.

At the time of the attack, which was made on the 29th of May 1813, by Sir George Prevost, at the head of twelve hundred veteran troops, aided by the skill and bravery of his whole staff, General Brown was not *officially* in military command. Having, in the capacity of brigadier of the militia, completed his tour of duty in the preceding campaign, he had retired to his estate at Brownville, where he was employed in the superintendence of his private affairs. Still, however, being situated on the lines, and his competency being known and highly appreciated, his services as a citizen were claimed by government, to give notice of the force and movements, and to ascertain, as far as possible, the intentions of the enemy. It was ordered, moreover, by the proper authority, that, in case of an attack upon the Harbour, he should repair immediately to the scene of action, assume the command, and conduct the defence. Signals of alarm were accordingly agreed upon, and other points relating to their requisite co-operation in the expected conjuncture, settled between General Brown, and Lieutenant Colonel Backers, who, in the absence of his senior officers, commanded the post.

With the exception of two hundred invalids, and two hundred and fifty dragoons, who had lately arrived, the regular troops had been all withdrawn from Sackett's Harbour, and were now employed in the enterprise against Fort George, and for the better equipment of the expedition up the lake, General Wilkinson had dismantled of nearly all their ordnance, both the batteries on shore, and such of the ships of war as he had left behind him. Thus was a most important post, with a vigilant and powerful enemy in its vicinity, left to the defence of a few soldiers of infirm health, a handful of dismounted dragoons unversed in the tactics of infantry, and such volunteer militia from the surrounding country as might be embodied on a pressing and sudden emergency. But it was so ordered that the whole

was left under the superintendence of an officer whose presence and individual services proved a host in themselves.

All things remained quiet, until the night of the 27th of May, when the alarm guns were heard, and shortly afterwards a messenger arrived at General Brown's quarters, about eight miles from the Harbour, with information that the enemy's fleet from Kingston was observed in motion. Not a moment was to be lost. After taking the most prompt and energetic measures to call out the militia from the neighbouring district, the general hastened to the post of danger. In the course of the 28th, he saw assembled around him from five to six hundred men fresh from their homes, not one of whom, perhaps, had ever faced an enemy in the field, or heard the sound of a hostile ball. In regulars and militia, of the description we have mentioned, the army of defence amounted now to nearly a thousand.

On the 28th the enemy appeared in force in the offing, but did not make any attempt to land. Fortunately for the defenders there was but one place where a landing was practicable. Here General Brown had a breastwork thrown up, surmounted by a piece of field artillery and defended, by the militia and Albany volunteers under the command of Colonel Mills. Throughout the night of the 28th General Brown was continually on the alert. His troops slept on their arms, while he himself reconnoitred in person the shores of the Harbour.

With the dawn of the 29th, the enemy was discovered pressing for the shore. The general prepared for their reception by posting Colonel Mills with his militia behind the breastwork thrown up near to the water's edge, while the regulars and a few volunteers who formed in line with them under the command of lieutenant Colonel Backus, were drawn up at a considerable distance in the rear.

As the enemy's boats advanced, the militia betrayed no signs of fear; but even appeared cheerful, and anxious for the conflict. The general knowing his position to be

good, and persuading himself that the hearts of his soldiers were firm, anticipated a speedy and glorious result. His orders were, to suffer the foe to approach within pistol shot, and then with deliberate and deadly aim, to open on him at once with the field-piece and musketry. The orders were executed with great precision, and the first fire was very destructive. Several British officers and many men were seen to fall, evident disorder prevailed among the boats, and for a moment their advance appeared to be checked.

From a commencement so promising every thing was to be hoped. But, to the utter disappointment and mortification of the general, before half of the militia had fired a second round, he saw them all, without distinction, as if seized by a strange and simultaneous panic, abandon the contest, and fly with precipitation. For a time dismay and confusion prevailed. All efforts to stop the flight of the troops were unavailing. In the attempt to rally them Colonel Mills was mortally wounded. At length, however, by the activity and good conduct of Captain M'Knitt, about a hundred of them were rallied, and formed in line with the regulars and volunteers, who still kept their ground, ready to act as circumstances might require.

The enemy disembarked without further opposition, and immediately commenced his march towards the village. But he was little aware of the opposition he had to encounter. A Spartan band was still before him prepared for death, but not for dishonour. By this handful of heroes, (for such they proved themselves to be) amounting at the utmost to about five hundred men, he was received with such a firm front and destructive fire, as deadened his advance and shook his resolution. On the American side the volunteers and even that portion of the flying militia rallied by Captain M'Knitt seemed now to vie with the regulars in deeds of valour. Although compelled to fall back by the superior weight of the British columns, they bravely disputed every inch of ground, and evinced a determination not to yield. They at length took possession of a few log huts built for the winter accommodation of

the soldiers, whence they kept up a continued and deadly fire, and from which the enemy by all his efforts was unable to dislodge them.

Struck with admiration at the conduct of these brave men, General Brown, who had been every where present with them, determined on a final, which happily proved a successful, effort in their favor. Being informed that the militia, who, at the beginning of the contest, had so precipitately fled, had not yet entirely dispersed, but were still in sight of the battle ground, in company with a few more who had just arrived from the country, he resolved to make another attempt to recall them to their duty.

Accordingly, after exhorting his few gallant associates who still kept in check the whole British force, amounting to more than twice their number, to be mindful of themselves and hold out to the last, he hastened in person to the fugitive militia, who were assembled at a distance, looking at the conflict. After sternly reproaching with cowardice and dishonor, both officers and men, many of whom shed tears at the rebuke of their general and the recollection of their conduct, he ordered them instantly to form and follow him, threatening the first act of disobedience with immediate death. The order was no sooner issued than obeyed.

Finding himself now at the head of three or four hundred troops, on whose firmness in action he was still unwilling to rely, he determined to attempt by stratagem what he had not force sufficient to achieve in open combat. He accordingly ordered this body of militia to pass silently through a distant wood, (thus counterfeiting an effort to conceal their movement, yet still keeping in sight of the field of battle that they might be certainly seen,) toward the place of landing, as if to turn the flank of the enemy, fall on his rear, and take possession of his boats.

The scheme succeeded beyond expectation. Sir George Prevost, feeling himself very roughly handled in front, and suspecting an attempt to place him between two fires and cut off his retreat, abandoned the contest, and hurried to his

boats, leaving behind him all his killed, and many of his wounded. General Brown being in no condition to press on his rear, but making a bold demonstration as if preparatory to that effect, suffered him to embark without much molestation. In a short time they were far on their way from the American shore.

In this affair, the nature of the ground, and other circumstances, operated strongly against the invaders. The country, in the immediate vicinity of Sackett's Harbour is covered with trees, which afforded all the advantages that could be desired by American marksmen : behind them many were posted with very signal effect, who yet, from their undisciplined state, as we have seen, could not be brought to stand an encounter with the veteran troops of the enemy. The British regulars, on the contrary, found little room for the manœuvres to which they had been trained, and to which only disciplined soldiers are in general adapted, their loss was, however, not so great as might have been expected. Three field officers, one captain, and twenty-five privates were killed ; two Captains and twenty soldiers were found wounded ; and three officers and thirty two soldiers were taken prisoners. The American loss was much greater ; one hundred and fifty six in all, being killed, wounded, and missing.

An unfortunate mistake caused the destruction of part of the barracks and stores, under the charge of Lieutenant Chauncey. A false report having reached that officer, of the defeat of the Americans, he conceived it necessary to comply with the orders he had received, to set fire to the buildings and prevent the stores from falling into the hands of the enemy. He was, however, no sooner apprised of the incorrectness of the information, than he spared no exertions to extinguish the conflagration, and his efforts were finally successful, though not until considerable damage had been done.

General Brown, in recompense for his exertions on this occasion was shortly afterwards appointed a Brigadier in the regular army.*

* Ramsay.

Nor were the British inactive upon Lake Erie. After their retreat from Fort Meigs in the beginning of May, several threatening movements were made from the lake at Fort Meigs, Lower Sandusky, Cleveland, and Erie. No serious attempt was made, however, on any of these posts, until the first of August, when a combined force of the enemy, amounting to at least five hundred regulars and seven or eight hundred Indians, under the immediate command of General Proctor, made its appearance before Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky. As soon as the general had made such a disposition of his troops as would cut off the retreat of the garrison, he sent Colonel Elliot, accompanied by Major Chambers, with a flag, to demand the surrender of the fort, stating that he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood, which he should probable not have in his power to do, should he be reduced to the necessity of taking the place by storm.

The commander of the fort, Major Croghan, answered that he was determined to defend the place to the last extremity, and that no force, however large, should induce him to surrender it. So soon as the flag returned, a brisk fire was opened upon the fort, from the gun-boats in the river, and from a five and a half inch howitzer on shore, which was kept up with little intermission throughout the night.

At an early hour the next morning, three sixes, which had been placed during the night within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, began to play, but with little effect. About four in the afternoon, discovering that the fire from all the guns was concentrated against the north-western angle of the fort, Croghan became confident that the object was to make a breach, and attempt to storm the works at that point. He therefore ordered out as many men as could be employed for the purpose of strengthening that part, which was so effectually secured by means of bags of flour, sand, &c. that the picketing suffered little or no injury; notwithstanding which, about five hundred of the enemy, having formed in close column, advanced to assault the works at the expected point, at the same time making two feints on other

parts of the fort. The column which advanced against the north-western angle, consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, was so completely enveloped in smoke, as not to be discovered until it had approached within eighteen or twenty paces of the lines; but the men, being all at their posts and ready to receive it, commenced so heavy and galling a fire as to throw the column a little into confusion; being quickly rallied, however, it advanced to the outer works, and began to leap into the ditch. At that moment a fire of grape was opened from a six-pounder, which had been previously arranged so as to rake in that direction, which, together with the musketry, threw them into such confusion, that they were compelled to retire precipitately to the woods.

During the assault, which lasted about half an hour, an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy's artillery, which consisted of five sixes and a howitzer, but without effect.

Before the attack was ended, the soldiers in the garrison supplied the wounded enemy in the ditch with water, by throwing over full canteens.

The whole number of men in the garrison was not more than one hundred and sixty. Their loss during the siege was one killed and seven wounded slightly. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, must have exceeded one hundred and fifty; one lieutenant-colonel, a lieutenant, and fifty rank and file were found in and about the ditch, dead or wounded. Those of the remainder who were not able to escape were taken off during the night by the Indians.*

About three in the morning the enemy sailed down the river, leaving behind them a boat containing clothing and considerable military stores. Seventy stand of arms, and several brace of pistols, were afterwards collected near the works.

Major Croghan, the commander who so gallantly resisted such a superior force, was a youth of only twenty-one years of age; and his defence of the fort, with means so small, against a foe distinguished for his skill and bravery, was

* Ramsay.

truly one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. Major Croghan was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and together with his brave companions, received the thanks of Congress.

A few days after the assault, Proctor despatched a surgeon with a flag of truce, to assist in the care of the wounded, and with a request that such of the prisoners as were in a condition to be removed, might be permitted to return to Malden, on *his* parole of honour that they should not serve until exchanged.*

Harrison, in his reply, stated, that on his arrival at Fort Stephenson, on the morning of the 3d, he found that Major Croghan, conformably to those principles which are held sacred in the American army, had caused all the care to be taken of the wounded prisoners that his situation would permit; that his hospital surgeon was particularly charged to attend to them, and he was warranted in the belief that every thing which surgical skill could give was afforded. They had been liberally furnished, too, with every article necessary in their situation which the hospital stores could supply. Having referred to his government, he added, for orders respecting the disposition of the prisoners, he could not, with propriety comply with the request for an immediate exchange. But he assures him, that as far as it depends upon him, the course of treatment which has been commenced towards them while in his possession would be continued.

It is impossible here to avoid contrasting the conduct of Proctor and Harrison, in two exactly parallel cases, the care of the wounded, and treatment of the surgeon sent for their relief after the battles of Frenchtown and Sandusky. In the one case, the surgeon is treated with politeness, and only sent back because his aid is unnecessary, and the wounded are supplied with water by the garrison, even whilst the attack is carried on. The conduct of Proctor need not be repeated here. It has made too deep an impression to be soon effaced.

On receiving the news of the battle of Lake Erie, and the

* Hist. Reg. vol. ii. Frost's U. S. Ramsay.

capture of the British fleet, General Proctor immediately abandoned Malden, and commenced a retreat towards Quebec; and General Harrison, with the American army, now considerably reinforced by the arrival of Governor Shelby with the Kentucky volunteers, started instantly in pursuit. On the 5th of October, they came up with the fugitives, at the Moravian towns on the banks of the Thames, in the province of Upper Canada.

The allied army was drawn up across a narrow isthmus, covered with beach trees, and formed by the river Thames on the left, and a swamp running parallel to the river on the right. The British regulars were drawn up in a double line,



BATTLE OF THE THAMES.

with their left on the river, supported by the artillery; while the Indians, under Tecumseh, were placed in a dense wood, with their right on the morass. In the order in which the

American army was first formed, the regulars and volunteer infantry were drawn up in three lines, in front of the British force ; while the mounted volunteers were posted opposite to the Indians, with directions to turn their right flank. It was soon perceived, however, that the nature of the ground on the enemy's right would prevent this operation from being attempted with any prospect of success. General Harrison, therefore, determined to change his plan of attack. Finding that the enemy's regulars were drawn up in open order, he conceived the bold idea of breaking their ranks, by a charge of part of the mounted infantry. They were accordingly formed in four columns of double files, with their right in a great measure out of the reach of the British artillery. The army moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were instantly ordered to charge. The horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire ; but, on receiving a second fire, the column got into motion, and immediately, at full speed, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute, the contest was over in this part of the line. The British officers, seeing no hope of reducing their disordered ranks to order, the mounted infantry wheeling upon them, and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. Only three of the Americans were wounded in this charge.

Upon the American left, however, the contest with the Indians was more severe. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of the army, received a most galling fire, which he returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the left, advanced, fell in with the front line of the infantry, and, for a moment, made an impression upon it. Governor Shelby, who was stationed near that point, brought up a regiment to its support. The enemy now received such a severe fire, that they broke and fled with the greatest precipitation, pursued by the mounted volunteers.

A complete and brilliant victory was thus obtained by the American army over an enemy, who, though somewhat inferior in numbers, possessed very decided advantages in the

choice of his position, as well as the experience of his officers and men. The battle was, indeed, chiefly fought by the mounted volunteers, to whose unprecedented charge against a body of regular infantry, posted behind a thick wood, the fortune of the day was principally owing. This novel manœuvre, at variance with the ordinary rules of military tactics, reflects the highest credit on the general who conceived and the troops who executed it. The whole of the American force fully performed its duty, as far as it was engaged. The venerable governor of Kentucky was seen at the head of the militia of his state, exciting their valour and patriotism by the influence of his personal example, and adding to the laurels he had acquired thirty years before in a contest with the same enemy.

The trophies acquired by this victory were of the most gratifying nature. All the territory surrendered by General Hull was recovered ; and, besides a great quantity of small arms and stores, six pieces of brass artillery were captured, three of which had been taken during the Revolution, at Saratoga and Yorktown ; and were part of the fruits of Hull's surrender. The prisoners amounted to about six hundred, including twenty-five officers. Of the Americans, seven were killed and twenty-two wounded ; and of the British troops, twelve were killed and twenty-two wounded.

The Indians, however, suffered far more severely. The loss of thirty of their number killed, was trifling, in comparison with that sustained by the death of Tecumseh, their celebrated leader. His intelligence and bravery were no less conspicuous on this occasion than in the preceding part of the war. He was seen in the thickest press of the conflict, encouraging his brethren by his personal exertions ; and, at the conclusion of the contest, his body was found on the spot where he had resisted the charge of the mounted regiment. His death inflicted a decisive stroke on the confederacy of the savages, from which it never recovered, and deprived the British troops of a most active and efficient auxiliary.

The consequences of this victory upon the interests of the Indian tribes were soon perceived. Being cut off from their communications, with the British posts in Canada, many of them sent deputations to General Harrison, to sue for peace. Previous to the engagement on the Thames, an armistice had been concluded with the Ottawas and Chippewas, on condition of their raising the tomahawk against the British : and soon afterwards the Miamis and Potawatamies submitted on the same terms.

The object of the expedition having been accomplished by the capture of the British army, the troops commenced their march for Detroit on the 7th. They arrived at Sandwich on the 10th, and soon afterwards the Kentucky infantry returned home, and were discharged at Limestone on the 4th of November, after having received the thanks of General Harrison for their exemplary conduct during the campaign. In the mean time, the General was without orders from the war department, for his subsequent operations, the despatches of the government having been put on board a vessel, which was lost on the lake. He resolved, therefore, to take upon himself the responsibility of proceeding down the lake in the fleet. Accordingly, having left General Cass, with his brigade, at Detroit, he sailed on the 22d of October, from Erie, with General M'Arthur's brigade, and a battalion of regular riflemen, and arrived at Buffalo on the 24th. From this place, he marched, by the bank of the Niagara, to Newark, where he shortly afterwards received orders from General Armstrong the Secretary of war, to send M'Arthur's brigade to Sackett's Harbour, and was informed that he had permission to return to his family. This information, which was considered by him as an order to retire from the command, he immediately obeyed, and this able and distinguished officer, the most popular and successful of the commanders that the republic had yet employed, shortly afterwards resigned his commission.

General Wilkinson, having succeeded General Dearborn in the command of the northern army, made an ineffectual at-

tempt upon Canada by descending the St. Lawrence towards Montreal; during which an indecisive battle was fought at Williamsburg. The whole expedition, though under the personal superintendence of the Secretary of War, turned out a complete failure.*

On the 10th of December, Fort George was evacuated and blown up by the Americans. Before crossing to their own side of the river, the town of Newark, a handsome little place, containing about two hundred houses, and situated about a mile below the fort, was reduced to ashes.

On the 19th of December, about four in the morning, the British crossed the river, a few miles above Fort Niagara, and succeeded in taking the place by storm about an hour before day-break. The fort appears to have been completely surprised. The men were nearly all asleep in their tents, when the enemy rushed in, and commenced a dreadful slaughter. Such as escaped the fury of the first onset, retired to the old mess-house, where they kept up a fire on the enemy, until a want of ammunition compelled them to surrender. The disaster is attributed, and with but too much appearance of probability, to gross neglect or treasonable connivance on the part of the commanding officer of the fort, who is stated to have been absent at the time it took place, notwithstanding the attack was expected, as appears from the general orders issued by M'Clure a few days previous.

After the capture of the fort, the British, with a large body of Indians, proceeded up the river as far as Lewistown, and, having driven off a detachment of militia stationed at Lewistown Heights, burnt that village and those of Youngstown and Manchester, and the Indian Tuscarora village. A number of the inoffensive inhabitants are said to have been butchered by the savages. On the 30th another detachment of the British and Indians crossed the Niagara, near Black Rock. They were met by the militia under General Hall; but, overpowered by numbers, and the discipline of the enemy, the militia

* Frost's U. S. vol, iv., p. 124.

soon gave way and fled on every side, and every attempt to rally them was ineffectual. The enemy then set fire to Black Rock, when they proceeded to Buffalo, which they likewise laid in ashes, thus completing the desolation of the whole of the Niagara frontier, as a retaliation for the burning of Newark.

* Historical Register.



CHAPTER XVII.

Eastern and Southern Campaign of 1813.



THE British government, issued an order on the 26th of December, 1812, declaring the Delaware and the Chesapeake Bays in a state of blockade, and on the 20th of March all the ports south

of Rhode Island were included. During the winter, intelligence had been repeatedly received by American prisoners from Bermuda, of the arrival of a British squadron at that place, well stored with bombs and Congreve rockets, and with a considerable body of troops on board, for the purpose of destroying some of our southern cities. The alarm, then, that was excited at Norfolk may be easily conceived, when intelligence was received of the approach of this squadron, which on the 4th of February was perceived in the Chesapeake, standing towards Hampton Roads, to the number of two seventy-four's, three frigates, a brig, and a schooner. The frigate *Constellation* had come down the bay, and anchored in Hampton Roads the day before, and on the arrival of the first news of the near approach of the hostile squadron, it being then ebb-tide, was fast aground at Willoughby spit. Fortunately, however, the flood made, and the ship was afloat, before the enemy hove in sight. She was immediately

brought up Elizabeth river to Norfolk, and anchored between the two forts.

Every exertion was now made for the defence of the place, by calling out the militia, &c. ; the recruits at the barracks were brought down to the fort, and the gun-boats stationed in the most favourable position to resist the expected attack. No attempt, however, was made upon the town. The squadron confined its operations to the capturing and destroying of the bay craft, and forming an effectual blockade of the waters of the Chesapeake.

About the same time a British squadron entered the Delaware bay, which consisted of the *Poictiers*, seventy four, the frigate *Belvidera*, and several small vessels, and for some weeks were employed in fixing buoys, intercepting and capturing the outward and inward bound vessels, and burning the bay craft. On the 16th of March, Sir J. P. Beresford, the commander of the squadron, transmitted a letter to Lewistown, a small fishing town near the mouth of the bay, addressed to the first magistrate, requesting him to send twenty live bullocks, with a proportionate quantity of vegetables and hay, on board the *Poictiers*, for the use of the squadron, which should be immediately paid for at the Philadelphia prices. The request was accompanied with a threat, that, in case of a refusal, he should burn the town.

This demand was positively, though politely, refused, as "a compliance would be an immediate violation of the laws, and an eternal stigma on the nation." To which Beresford answered, "that the demand he had made was, in his opinion, neither ungenerous, nor wanting in that magnanimity which one nation ought to observe to another with which it is at war. It is in my power," continues he, "to destroy your town, and the request I have made upon it, as the price of its security, is neither distressing nor unusual. I must, therefore, persist, and whatever sufferings may fall upon the inhabitants of Lewis, must be attributed to yourselves, by not complying with a request so easily acquiesced in."

Nothing further passed on the subject, till the 6th of April,

when they renewed the demand, and fired several thirty-two pound shot into the town, previous to sending the flag on shore, to show that they were serious in their threats. In Beresford's letter on this occasion, he urges that no dishonour can be attached to complying with his demand, in consideration of his superior force. "I must, therefore," continues he, "consider your refusal to supply the squadron as most cruel on your part to the inhabitants. I grieve for the distress the women and children are reduced to by your conduct, and earnestly desire they may be instantly removed." To this letter merely a verbal reply was returned, that the commander, Colonel Davis, was a gallant man, and had already taken care of the ladies. On the return of the flag, a cannonade was commenced from four launches with twenty-four and eighteen pounders; two sloops, with thirty-two pounders and a mortar; a pilot boat, with six pounders; and a schooner with twelve pounders, covered by the frigate *Belvidera*.

The town, being seated on a considerable eminence, sustained little or no injury; the rockets passing over, and the bombs falling short. The fire from an eighteen pounder on shore, which was supplied by shot thrown by the enemy, silenced one of their most dangerous gun-boats. Above six-hundred shot were fired at the place, a great part of which was afterwards dug by the boys out of the sand, viz. forty of thirty-two pound, ninety-six of eighteen pound, one hundred and fifty-six of twelve's and nine's with a large quantity of six's and grape, besides shells and remains of rockets. Not a man was killed on the side of the Americans during this attack.

On the forenoon of the following day, a number of small boats approached the shore, apparently with the intention of landing; but, being gallantly met by the militia on the beach, they were recalled by a signal from the squadron.

In the Chesapeake, the principal part of the squadron began to move up the bay about the beginning of April.

On the 9th of April they reached Annapolis, and on the 16th appeared off the mouth of the Patapsco, twelve

or fourteen miles from Baltimore. Both Annapolis and Baltimore were threatened with an attack, but nothing was attempted, the enemy carefully keeping their vessels at a safe distance from the guns of the forts.

But though the fortified towns escaped the vengeance which had so long been threatened, it was not the case with the unprotected villages, which skirt the rivers that fall into the head of the bay. Four of these were laid in ashes by Admiral Cockburn, who gallantly led the barges which ascended the rivers for this purpose. These plundering and burning expeditions will long render his name famous in the neighbourhood of the Chesapeake bay.

Having sufficiently signalized their prowess by the burning of Frenchtown, Havre de Grace, Georgetown, and Fredericktown, and the farm houses, mills, &c. adjoining, the squadron returned down the bay, destroying the oyster boats, wood shallops, and other river craft in their progress, and showing themselves, but at a convenient distance, at every fortification near the bay.

The squadron, after returning down the bay, resumed their station in Hampton Roads, with a view of attacking Norfolk. Early on the morning of the 22d of June, they landed a large body of troops, from the accounts of deserters about two thousand five hundred, on the west side of Elizabeth river, and marched them up towards Craney Island, the passage to which from the main land, is fordable at low water. Forty-five or fifty boats full of men, were then sent to effect a landing on the north side of the island, with whom the force on the main land was directed to co-operate. The whole force on the island at the time of the attack was four hundred and eighty-seven, riflemen, infantry, and artillery, and one hundred and fifty seamen and marines, forty-three of whom were on the sick list.—With this handful of men was the landing of the enemy successfully opposed, and they were forced to retreat to their ships, with the loss of several boats by the fire of the artillery.

Foiled in their meditated attack on Norfolk by this repulse

at the mouth of the harbour, the British again turned their attention to the easier task of laying waste unprotected villages, and that of Hampton, which lay nearly opposite, naturally presented itself. Here they landed a body of two thousand five hundred men, with but little opposition, there being only a small detachment of militia encamped near the town, who were soon forced to retreat under a heavy fire of artillery, musketry, and Congreve rockets. The British now took possession of the village; and here a horrid scene of barbarity ensued, which was characterized by plunder, devastation, murder, and rape. The British troops shortly after retreated to their ships, when a correspondence took place by means of flags between General Taylor, the commandant at Norfolk, and sir Sidney Beckwith, quarter-master-general of the British forces, on the subject of these excesses. Sir Sidney attempted to justify them on the ground of inhumanity in some of the American troops on Craney island, whom he charged with having waded into the river, and shot at their unresisting and yielding foe, who clung to the wreck of a boat which had been sunk by the fire of their guns. This imputation was promptly repelled, and a board of officers was immediately appointed to investigate the charge. From the evidence adduced it appeared, that in the action at Craney island, two of the enemy's boats in front of their line were sunk by the fire of the batteries; the soldiers and sailors who were in those boats were consequently afloat and in danger of drowning, and being in front of the boats that were uninjured, guns were necessarily fired in the direction of the men in the water, but with no intention whatever to do them further harm; but, on the contrary, orders were given to prevent this, by ceasing to fire grape, and only to fire round shot; it also was substantiated that one of the enemy who had apparently surrendered, advanced towards the shore, about one hundred yards, when he suddenly turned to his right and endeavoured to make his escape to a body of the enemy who had landed above the island, and who were then in view; then and not till then was he fired upon to bring him back, which had the desired effect,

and he was taken unhurt to the island. It further appeared, that the American troops exerted themselves in acts of hospitality and kindness to the unresisting and yielding foe.

But even if this charge had been founded on fact, it could not have justified the measures adopted by the British. The facts should surely have been first clearly ascertained and redress demanded, before any retaliation was resorted to, especially a retaliation so extravagant in its measure, applying not to the perpetrators of the alleged offence, nor to their comrades, but to the unresisting, innocent, and helpless.

During the remainder of the summer, hostile demonstrations were made by the British squadron in various points on the waters, of the Chesapeake, particularly at Washington, Annapolis, and Baltimore, in which, if the aim of the enemy was merely to harass, they were certainly eminently successful. A part of the Chesapeake squadron, under admiral Cockburn, likewise appeared off Ocracock bar, North Carolina, where their barges destroyed two privateers, and landed a number of men at Portsmouth and Ocracock, who committed a number of wanton depredations.

In the mean time, the calamities of war began to extend to the southern portion. In the summer of 1813 the Creek nation commenced hostilities by an attack on Fort Mims, a post upon the Tensaw river. Before we enter on a narrative of the events of this war, however, it will be proper to notice another important event which took place in this quarter, in the month of April; namely, the surrender of Mobile to the arms of the United States.

By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded on the 1st of October, 1800, between France and Spain, the latter, in consideration of certain stipulations in favour of the duke of Parma, ceded to the French republic "the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it; and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." By a treaty concluded

at Paris, on the 30th of April, 1803, France ceded to the United States, the territory she had acquired by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, "as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French republic." In virtue of the above-mentioned treaties, the United States claimed, as the southern portion of Louisiana, all the country lying between the Sabine and Perdido rivers. The Spanish government, however, resisted this claim, and contended that its eastern boundary was the river Mississippi, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. This country had accordingly been the subject of negotiation for several years, between the American and Spanish governments, the latter still holding possession of the country. This negotiation was put an end to by the troubles which took place in old Spain, in 1807 ; and a revolution breaking out in Florida, the United States, on the ground that Spain could no longer hold possession of the country, and that her rights would be jeopardized or lost, by suffering it to pass into the hands of a third party (the revolutionists), on whom they could have no claim, took possession of the whole of the disputed country, in 1812, except the post of Mobile, a small fortified town of about four hundred inhabitants, situated on the west side of Mobile bay, which continued to be held by a Spanish garrison until the 15th of April, 1813, when it was summoned to surrender to the arms of the United States, under General Wilkinson, which was immediately done without the slightest opposition.

The country of the Creek Indians, was situated in the western part of the state of Georgia, and the eastern part of the Mississippi territory, between the Ocmulgee and Tombigbee rivers, and extends from the Cherokee country, which borders on Tennessee, to Florida. In the course of the summer, several families were murdered, near the mouth of the Ohio river, by a party of Indians passing from the great lakes to the Upper Creeks. The principal chiefs of the nation, on the application of the United States' agent, determined to punish the murderers by putting them to death, and a party of warriors was appointed to execute their determination.

This was no sooner done, than the resentment of the friends of the murderers broke out in acts of open violence against all who had been in any way concerned in causing the murderers to be put to death, and a civil war was the consequence. It appears, however, that this circumstance only produced a premature disclosure of their object, as it has since been ascertained that most of the Upper Creeks had previously determined to take part with the northern Indians in their war with the United States.

About the middle of July, the secretary of war wrote to the governor of Georgia, and at the same time transmitted a copy of his letter to the governor of Tennessee, stating, that information through various channels had reached the general government, of the hostility of a portion of the Creek nation, and of the necessity of breaking it down by some prompt and vigorous measures; and suggested the propriety of embodying a portion of the Georgia militia, who should either act separately against the enemy, or in concert with another corps of militia, drawn from Tennessee. This letter was received by Governor Mitchell in the end of July, when he immediately took measures for calling out fifteen hundred of the Georgia militia, who were soon after marched to the Ocmulgee river. Their number was subsequently enlarged to a full brigade.

Meanwhile appearances became every day more threatening. The friendly Indians were forced to leave their towns and retreat towards the white settlements, and fortify themselves against the attacks of the war party. The latter proceeded in great numbers to the south, where it is asserted they were supplied by the Spanish governor of Pensacola with arms and ammunition. At last, upon the 30th of August, they commenced hostilities against the United States, by an attack upon Mim's fort, on the Tensaw, a branch of the Mobile river, in the Mississippi territory, commanded by Major Beasley.

Information had been received about a week previous that a large number of Indians were approaching with hostile intentions, but the attack was wholly unexpected at the moment it occurred, which was about eleven in the forenoon. The

whole garrison, however, was immediately under arms. The front gate being open, the enemy ran in great numbers to possess themselves of it, and in the contest for it many fell on both sides. Soon, however, the action became general, the enemy fighting, on all sides in the open field, and as near the stockade as they could get. The port-holes were taken and retaken several times. A block-house was contended for by captain Jack, at the head of his riflemen, for the space of an hour after the enemy were in possession of part of it ; when they finally succeeded in driving his company into a house in the fort, and, having stopped many of the port-holes with the ends of rails, possessed themselves of the walls. The troops made a most gallant defence from the houses, but the enemy having set fire to the roofs, and the attempt to extinguish it proving unsuccessful, the few who now remained alive attempted a retreat, having previously thrown into the flames many of the guns of the dead. Few, however, succeeded in escaping. Major Beasley fell gallantly fighting at the head of his command, near the gate, at the commencement of the action. The other officers fell nobly doing their duty ; the non-commissioned officers and soldiers behaved equally well.

The loss of the Americans was great : sixty-five, including officers and men, of the Mississippi territory volunteers, and twenty-seven volunteer militia, were killed. Many respectable citizens, with numerous families, who had abandoned their farms, and fled to the fort for security, were also killed, or burnt in the houses into which they fled. A detachment which was sent from cantonment Mount Vernon, on the 21st of September, to collect the bones of their countrymen, collected, and consigned to the earth, two hundred and forty-seven persons, including men, women, and children. The detachment likewise searched the woods for bodies, where they found at least one hundred dead Indians, who were covered with rails, brush, &c. These Indians had been interred with their war-dresses and implements, by which they were recognized.

On the receipt of the disastrous intelligence of the destruction of Major Beasley's garrison, preparations were immediately made for collecting a large force of Tennessee militia, and providing supplies for those of Georgia, which had already assembled. The Tennessee militia were marched in two divisions, under the orders of Major-Generals Jackson and Cocke.

On the 2d of November, Major-General Jackson despatched Brigadier-General Coffee from the camp at Ten-Islands, with nine hundred men, consisting of cavalry and mounted riflemen, on an expedition against Tallushatchee where a considerable force of the Creeks was concentrated. Coffee arrived within a mile and a half of the town on the morning of the 3d, where he divided his force into two divisions, and directed them to march so as completely to encircle the town, which was effected in a masterly manner. When they arrived within about half a mile of the town, the enemy began to prepare for action, which was announced by the beating of their drums, mingled with savage yells. About an hour after sunrise the action was brought on by two companies, who had gone within the circle of alignment, for the purpose of drawing the enemy out from their buildings. As soon as the two companies exhibited their front in view of the town, and gave a few scattering shot, the enemy formed and made a violent charge upon them, on which they gave way, and were followed by the Indians, until they reached the main body, who immediately opened a general fire, and then charged. The Indians now, in their turn, retreated firing, until they got around and in their buildings, when they made a most determined resistance, fighting to the very last moment, as long as they could stand or sit, not one shrinking or complaining; not one asking for quarter. Every warrior in the town was killed, and all the women and children were taken prisoners, except a few who were unintentionally slain, in consequence of the men flying to the houses and mixing with their families, and at the same time refusing quarter.

The number found killed of the enemy was one hundred

and eighty-six, and a number of others were killed in the woods, who were not found. The number of women and children taken was eighty-four. Of the Americans, five were killed and forty-one wounded, the greater part slightly, none mortally ; two of the killed were with arrows, which appeared to form a principal part of the arms of the Indians on this occasion, every man having a bow, with a bundle of arrows, which he used after the first fire with his gun, until a leisure time for loading offered.

Coffee bestows much praise on his men, for their deliberation and firmness. "Notwithstanding our numbers," says he, "were far superior to that of the enemy, it was a circumstance to us unknown, and from the parade of the enemy we had every reason to suppose them our equals in number ; but there appeared no visible traces of alarm in any ; on the contrary, all appeared cool and determined ; and, no doubt, when they face a foe of their own, or of superior number, they will show the same courage as on this occasion."

The following day General Coffee returned with his detachment to the camp.

Late on the evening of the 7th a friendly Indian arrived at the camp, who brought intelligence that the enemy had arrived in great numbers at Talledega, about thirty miles below the camp, where one hundred and sixty men of the friendly Creeks had erected a fort, the more effectually to resist the efforts of the hostile party, and where they were now stationed with their wives and children. The messenger represented that, unless speedy relief could be obtained from the army, the fort would certainly be taken. General Jackson immediately gave orders for taking up the line of march, with twelve hundred infantry and eight hundred cavalry and mounted riflemen, leaving behind the sick, the wounded, and the baggage, with a sufficient force for their protection. By twelve o'clock that night the army was in motion, and commenced crossing the river opposite the encampment, which was effected in a few hours, and on the night of the 8th the army was encamped within six miles of the enemy. At

eleven that night a soldier and two Indians, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, returned with the intelligence that the enemy were encamped within a quarter of a mile of the fort; but they had not been able to approach near enough to ascertain either their number or precise situation. At midnight the adjutant-general was ordered to prepare the line of march, and by four o'clock the army was in motion.

The infantry marched in three columns; the cavalry and mounted riflemen were in the rear, with flankers on each wing. The advance consisted of a company of artillery with muskets, and two companies of riflemen. A company of spies marched four hundred yards in front of the whole, to bring on the engagement. Having arrived within a mile of the enemy at seven o'clock, two hundred and fifty of the cavalry and mounted riflemen were placed in the rear of the centre as a *corps de reserve*, and the remainder were ordered to advance on the right and left of the infantry, and, after having encircled the enemy, by uniting the fronts of their columns, and keeping their rear connected with the infantry, to face and press inwards towards the centre, so as to leave the enemy no possibility of escape. The infantry were ordered to advance by heads of companies, General Hall's brigade occupying the right, and General Roberts's the left.

About eight o'clock, the advance, having arrived within eighty yards of the enemy, who were concealed in a thick shrubbery which covered the margin of a rivulet, received from them a heavy fire, which they immediately returned, and then charged and dislodged them from their position. The advance now fell back, as they had been previously ordered, to the centre. On the approach of the enemy, three of the militia companies, having given one fire, commenced a retreat, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of their officers. To fill the vacancy occasioned by this retreat, Jackson immediately ordered up a regiment of volunteers; but finding the advance of the enemy too rapid to admit of their arrival in time, the reserve was ordered to dismount and meet them. This order was executed with great promptitude and gallantry,

and the retreating militia, seeing the spirited stand made by the reserve, immediately rallied, and recovered their position, pouring in upon the enemy a most destructive fire. The engagement now became general; and in fifteen minutes the Indians were seen flying in every direction. On the left they were met and repulsed by the mounted riflemen; but on the right it unfortunately happened that too great a space had been left between the cavalry and infantry, by which numbers escaped. They were pursued, however, for three miles to the mountains with great slaughter.

The force of the enemy was represented by themselves at a thousand and eighty, two hundred and ninety-nine of whom were left dead on the ground, and a great many were killed in their flight. It is believed that very few escaped without a wound. The American loss was fifteen killed and eighty wounded.

On the 11th of November, General Cocke, who commanded the other division of the Tennessee militia, ordered Brigadier-General White, with a detachment of mounted infantry and cavalry, to proceed from Fort Armstrong, where this division was stationed, on an expedition against the Hillabee towns of the hostile Creeks on the Tallapoosa river. This expedition was completely successful. They penetrated one hundred miles into the enemy's country, and burned four of their villages, three of which they found deserted. Previous to their arrival at the fort, they learned that a party of the hostile Creeks were assembled there. Having marched the whole of the night of the 17th, they surrounded and completely surprised the town at day-light of the morning of the 18th, and of the whole party, which consisted of three hundred and sixteen, not one escaped, sixty being killed and the remainder made prisoners. The detachment now returned to camp, where they arrived on the 23d, having lost not one drop of blood in this enterprise. The country through which they marched was exceedingly rough and hilly, and they had to pass several narrow defiles, where it was necessary to use the utmost precaution. The troops and horses, likewise, had

to be subsisted, in a great degree, on such supplies as could be procured in the enemy's country, which rendered their march more tardy than it would otherwise have been.

The Georgia militia, though embodied before those of Tennessee, were not able, from the want of military supplies, to proceed to active operations till the end of November. Brigadier-General Stewart had been originally destined for the command, as the senior brigadier; but family considerations inducing him to decline its acceptance, brigadier-General Floyd was appointed in his room.

Towards the end of November Floyd received information that numbers of the hostile Indians were assembled at Autossee, a town on the southern bank of the Tallapoosa river, about twenty miles above its junction with the Coosa. He immediately left his camp, which was situated on the west side of the Chatahoochee river, and proceeded against the enemy with nine hundred and fifty militia, and between three and four hundred of the friendly Creeks. On the evening of the 28th the detachment encamped within nine or ten miles of the place of destination, and having resumed their march about one next morning, at half past six they were formed for action in front of the town. The detachment was formed in two columns, with a rifle company on each flank, and a company of artillery in front of the right column.

It was Floyd's intention to have completely surrounded the enemy, by resting the right wing of his force on Canleebee creek, at the mouth of which he was informed their town stood, and resting his left on the river bank below the town; but to his surprise, as the day dawned, he perceived a second town about five hundred yards below that which he was preparing to attack. The plan, therefore, was instantly changed; three companies of infantry on the left were wheeled to the left *en echelon*, and advanced to the lower town, accompanied by a rifle company and two troops of light dragoons. The remainder of the force approached the upper town, and the battle soon became general. The Indians presented themselves at every point, and fought with desperate bravery; but

the well-directed fire of the artillery and the bayonets of the infantry soon forced them to take refuge in the out-houses, thickets, and copses in the rear of the town. Many, it was supposed, secured themselves in caves, previously formed for this purpose in the high bluff of the river, which was thickly covered with reeds and brush-wood. It was intended that the friendly Indians should have crossed the river above the town, and been posted on the opposite shore during the action, to fire on such of the enemy as should attempt to escape, or to keep in check any reinforcements which might be attempted to be thrown in from the neighbouring towns. Owing to the difficulty of the ford, however, and the coldness of the weather and lateness of the hour, this arrangement failed, and their leaders were directed to cross Canleebee creek, and occupy that flank, to prevent escapes from the Tallisee town. Some time after the action commenced, the friendly Indians thronged in disorder in the rear of the militia, when the hostile tribes fell on the flanks of the detachment and fought with great intrepidity. By nine o'clock, however, the enemy was completely driven from the plains, and the houses of both towns were wrapped in flames.

It was impossible to determine the strength of the enemy, but from the information of some of the chiefs, which it is said could be relied on, there were assembled at Autossee warriors from eight towns for its defence, it being their beloved ground, on which they proclaimed no white man could approach without inevitable destruction. Neither was it possible to ascertain their loss; but from the number which were lying scattered over the field, together with those destroyed in the towns, and those slain on the bank of the river, whom respectable officers affirmed they saw lying in heaps at the water's edge, where they had been precipitated by their surviving friends, their loss, in killed alone, must have been at least two hundred, among whom were the Autossee and Tallisee kings. The number of buildings burnt is supposed to be four hundred; some of them were of a superior order for the dwellings of savages, and filled with valuable articles.

The Americans had eleven killed and fifty-four wounded, among the latter was General Floyd.

The detachment being now sixty miles from any depot of provisions, and their rations pretty nearly consumed, as soon as the dead and wounded were properly disposed of, the place was abandoned, and the troops commenced their march back to the camp on the Chatahoochee, a measure the more necessary as they were in the heart of an enemy's country, which in a few days could have poured from its numerous towns hosts of warriors. They arrived at the camp in safety, having marched one hundred and twenty miles in seven days.

On the 9th of December another detachment of the Georgia militia, consisting of about five hundred and thirty men, under the command of general Adams, marched on an expedition against the Creek towns on the Tallapoosie river. Notwithstanding the precautions which they used to prevent the Indians from hearing of their approach, they found the villages deserted, and were unable to bring the enemy to action, though their yells were repeatedly heard on both sides of the river. Having burnt two of their villages, therefore, the detachment returned to camp.*

Notwithstanding the decisive victories that had been obtained by the American troops, and the heavy losses of the Indians, and the destruction of their principal towns, this brave people were still unsubdued. General Claiborne, therefore, marched a detachment from Fort Claiborne, on the 13th of December, 1813, with a view to the further destruction of their towns. Fort Claiborne is situated on the Alabama river, at no great distance above where, by its junction with the Tombigbee, it forms the Mobile river. The object in view was a town called by the Creeks, Eccanachaca, or Holy Ground. This place, Claiborne was informed, was occupied by a large body of the enemy, under the command of Weatherford, a half-breed chief, who commanded the Indians that commenced the war by the destruction of the garrison at Fort Mims.

* Historical Register vol. ii.

When about thirty miles from the town, a stockade was erected for the security of the sick and the heavy baggage, and on the morning of the 22d the troops resumed their line of march. Their course lay chiefly through woods, without a track to guide them. On the morning of the 23d, the disposition for the attack was made. The troops advanced in three columns, a small body acting a corps de reserve. About noon, the right column came in view of the town, and was immediately vigorously attacked by the enemy, who had been apprised of their approach, and had chosen their field of action. Before the centre or the left could come generally into action, the enemy were repulsed and flying in all directions, many of them casting away their arms.

Thirty of the Creeks were killed in this rencontre, and judging from appearances, many were wounded. The loss on the part of the Americans was one killed and six wounded.

A pursuit was immediately ordered; but from the nature of the country nothing was effected. The town was nearly surrounded by swamps and deep ravines, which rendered the approach of the troops difficult, while it facilitated the escape of the Indians. In the town was found a large quantity of provisions, and immense property of various kinds, which the enemy, flying precipitately, were obliged to leave behind. All were destroyed, together with the village, consisting of about two hundred houses. The Indians had barely time to remove their women and children across the Alabama, which runs near where the town stood. The town had been built since the commencement of hostilities, and was established as a place of security for the inhabitants of several villages.

In the house of Weatherford, the commander, was found a letter from the Spanish governor of Pensacola to the leader of the Creeks, stating, that he had represented their request of arms and munitions to the captain-general in Havanna, but had as yet received no answer. He was in hopes, however, he stated, of receiving them; and as soon as that took place, they should be informed.

The following day was occupied by the troops in destroying

a town consisting of sixty houses, eight miles higher up the river, and in taking and destroying the boats of the enemy. At this place three Indians of some distinction were killed.

The term of service of the volunteers having now generally expired, they marched to Fort Stoddart, in order to be paid off.

Soon after the battle of Talledega, General Jackson's army had been almost entirely broken up, by the expiration of the time of the militia, but on the 14th of January, 1814, he was joined at Fort Strother by about eight hundred new raised volunteers from Tennessee, making his whole force, exclusive of Indians, nine hundred and thirty. The term of service of the volunteers being short, and the men full of ardour to meet the enemy, he determined immediately to employ them in active service ; and to this he was particularly induced by the information, that the Indians were concentrating with the view of attacking Fort Armstrong, a position about fifty miles above Fort Strother, on the same river, and also by his desire to make a diversion in favour of General Floyd, who was about making a movement to the Tallapoosa river, near its junction with the Coosa.

The volunteers therefore were marched across the river the day after their arrival, and on the next day, Jackson followed with the remainder of his force, consisting of the artillery company, with one six pounder, one company of infantry of forty-eight men, two companies of spies, of about thirty men each, and a company of volunteer officers, headed by General Coffee, who had been abandoned by his men, under some misapprehension as to their term of service, and who still remained in the field waiting the orders of the government.

On the 17th, the troops took up the line of march, and on the night of the 18th encamped at Talledega Fort, where they were joined by between two and three hundred friendly Indians ; sixty-five of whom were Cherokees, the remainder Creeks. On the 20th, they encamped at Enotachopco, a small Hillibee village, about twelve miles from Emuckfau. Here Jackson began to perceive very plainly how little

knowledge the spies had of the country, of the situation of the enemy, or of the distance the army was from them. The insubordination of the new troops, and the want of skill in most of their officers, also became more and more apparent. But their ardour to meet the enemy was not diminished ; and Jackson had a sure reliance upon the guards, and the company of old volunteer officers, and upon the spies, in all about one hundred and twenty-five.

On the morning of the 21st, the troops marched from Enotachopco, as direct as possible for the bend of the Tallapoosa, and about 2 o'clock P. M., the spies having discovered two of the enemy, endeavoured to overtake them, but failed. In the evening, a large trail was perceived, which led to a new road, much beaten and lately travelled. Knowing that he must have arrived within the neighbourhood of a strong force, and it being late in the day, Jackson determined to encamp, and reconnoitre the country in the night. He accordingly chose the best site the country would admit, encamped in a hollow square, sent out spies and pickets, doubled the sentinels, and made the necessary arrangements before dark for a night attack. About ten o'clock at night, one of the pickets fired at three of the enemy, and killed one, but he was not found until the next day. At eleven, the spies returned with the information, that there was a large encampment of Indians at the distance of about three miles, who, from their whooping and dancing, seemed to be apprised of the approach of the troops. One of these spies, an Indian in whom Jackson had great confidence, assured him that they were carrying off their women and children, and that the warriors would either make their escape or attack him before day. Being prepared at all points, nothing remained to be done but to await their approach, if they meditated an attack, or to be ready, if they did not, to pursue and attack them at daylight.

While the troops were in this state of readiness, the enemy, about six o'clock in the morning, commenced a vigorous attack on the left flank, which was as vigorously met ; the action continued to rage on that flank, and on the left of the

rear, for about half an hour. So soon as it became light enough to pursue, the left wing, having sustained the heat of the action, and being somewhat weakened, was reinforced by a company of infantry, and was ordered and led on to the charge by General Coffee, who was well supported by all the officers and privates who composed that line. The enemy was completely routed at every point, and the friendly Indians joining in the pursuit, they were chased about two miles with considerable slaughter.

The chase being over, General Coffee was detached with four hundred men and all the Indian force to burn the encampment; but with orders, if it was fortified, not to attack it, until the artillery could be sent forward to reduce it. On viewing the encampment and its strength, the general thought it most prudent to return, and guard the artillery thither. The wisdom of this step was soon discovered—in half an hour after his return to camp, a considerable force of the enemy made its appearance on Jackson's right flank, and commenced a brisk fire on a party of men, who had been on picket-guard the night before, and were then in search of the Indians they had fired upon. General Coffee immediately requested two hundred men to turn their left flank, which were accordingly ordered; but, through some mistake, not more than fifty-four followed him, among whom were the old volunteer officers. With these, however, he immediately commenced an attack on the left flank of the enemy, and Jackson ordered two hundred of the friendly Indians to fall in upon their right flank, and co-operate with General Coffee. This order was promptly obeyed, and what was expected was realized. The enemy had intended the attack on the right as a feint, and, expecting to direct all Jackson's attention thither, meant to attack him again, and with their main force, on the left flank, which they had hoped to find weakened and in disorder. But they were disappointed; for Jackson had ordered the left flank to remain firm to its place, and the moment the alarm gun was heard in that quarter, he repaired thither, and ordered Captain Ferrill, with part of the reserve, to support

it. The whole line met the approach of the enemy with astonishing intrepidity, and having given a few fires, they forthwith charged with great vigour. The effect was immediate and inevitable. The enemy fled with precipitation, and were pursued to a considerable distance, by the left flank and the friendly Indians, with a galling and destructive fire.

In the meantime, General Coffee was contending with a superior force of the enemy. The Indians who had been ordered to his support, and who had set out for this purpose, hearing the firing on the left, had returned to that quarter, and when the enemy were routed there, entered into the chase. That being now over, one hundred of them were sent to the relief of Coffee, and as soon as they reached him, the charge was made and the enemy routed: they were pursued about three miles, and forty-five of them slain, who were found. General Coffee was wounded in the body, and his aid-de-camp, A. Donaldson, killed, together with three others.

The camp was now fortified, in order that the troops might be the better prepared to repel any attack which might be made the following night, and next morning the troops set out on their return to Fort Strother, General Jackson not deeming it prudent to proceed farther on account of the scarcity of supplies, the number of his wounded, and the probability of the Indians receiving reinforcements from below. The retreat commenced at ten o'clock on the 23d, and the troops were fortunate enough to reach Enotachopco before night, having passed a dangerous defile without interruption. The camp was again fortified. Having another defile to pass in the morning, across a deep creek, and between two hills, which Jackson had viewed with attention, as he passed on, and where he expected he might be attacked, he determined to pass it at another point, and gave directions to the guide and fatigue-men accordingly. The general's expectation of an attack in the morning was increased by the signs of the night, and with it his caution. Before the wounded were removed from the interior of the camp, the front and rear guards were formed, as well as the right and left columns, and the centre

moved off in regular order, leading down a ridge to Enotachopco creek, at a point where it was clear of reeds, except immediately on its margin. A general order had been previously issued, pointing out the manner in which the men should be formed in the event of an attack on the front, or rear, or on the flanks, and the officers had been particularly cautioned to halt and form accordingly, the instant the word should be given.

The front guard had crossed with part of the flank columns, the wounded were over, and the artillery in the act of entering the creek, when an alarm gun was heard in the rear. Having chosen the ground, Jackson expected there to have entirely cut off the enemy, by wheeling the right and left columns on their pivot, re-crossing the creek above and below, and falling in upon their flanks and rear. But, to his astonishment and mortification, when the word was given to halt and form, and a few guns had been fired, the right and left columns of the rear guard precipitately gave way. This shameful retreat was disastrous in the extreme: it drew along with it the greater part of the centre column, leaving not more than twenty-five men, who, being formed by Colonel Carrol, maintained their ground, as long as it was possible to maintain it. There was then left to repulse the enemy, the few who remained of the rear guard, the artillery company, and Captain Russell's company of spies. Their conduct, however, exceeded the highest expectations. Lieutenant Armstrong, who commanded the artillery company in the absence of Captain Deadrick, who was confined by sickness, ordered them to form and advance to the top of the hill, whilst he and a few others dragged up the six-pounder. Never was more bravery displayed than on this occasion. Amidst the most galling fire from the enemy, more than ten times their number, they ascended the hill and maintained their position, until their piece was hauled up, when, having levelled it, they poured upon the enemy a fire of grape, reloaded and fired again, charged and repulsed them.

A number of the troops now crossed the creek, and entered

into the chase. Captain Gordon of the spies, who had rushed from the front, endeavoured to turn the left flank of the enemy, in which he partially succeeded, and Colonel Carroll, Colonel Higgins, and Captains Elliot and Pipkins, pursued the enemy for more than two miles, who fled in consternation, throwing away their packs, and leaving twenty-six of their warriors dead on the field. This last defeat was decisive, the troops being no more disturbed in their retreat.

The loss sustained in these several engagements was twenty killed and seventy-five wounded, four of whom afterwards died. The loss of the enemy could not be accurately ascertained : one hundred and eighty-nine of their warriors were found dead ; but this must fall considerably short of the number really killed. Their wounded can only be guessed at.

Meanwhile General Floyd was advancing towards the Indian territory from Chatahoochee river. On the twenty-seventh of January his camp was attacked by a large body of Indians, at the hour usually chosen for their operations, viz. about an hour before day. They stole upon the sentinels, fired upon them, and then with great impetuosity rushed upon the line. In twenty minutes the action became general, and the front of both flanks were closely pressed, but the gallant conduct of the officers, and the firmness of the men, repelled them at every point. As soon as it became light enough to distinguish objects, Floyd strengthened his right wing, to prepare them for a charge, and the cavalry was ordered to form in their rear, to act as circumstances should dictate. The order for the charge was promptly obeyed, and the enemy fled in every direction before the bayonet. The order was then given for the charge of the cavalry, who pursued and sabred fifteen of the enemy.

Thirty-seven Indians were left dead on the field. From the effusion of blood, and number of the war-clubs and head-dresses found in various directions, their loss must have been considerable. Floyd's loss was seventeen killed, and one hundred and thirty-two wounded.

The Creeks being rather inspirited than cast down by their last encounters with the whites, more vigorous efforts became necessary. General Jackson, therefore, having received reinforcements of militia from Tennessee, and being joined by a considerable body of Cherokee and friendly Creek Indians, set out on another expedition to the Tallapoosa river. He put his army in motion from the Coosee river on the morning of the 24th of March, and having a passage of fifty-two and a half miles over the ridges which divide the waters of the two rivers, reached the bend of the Tallapoosa, three miles beyond where the engagement of the 22d of January took place, and at the southern extremity of New Youca, on the morning of the 27th.

This bend resembles in its curvature that of a horse-shoe, and is thence called by that name among the whites.* Nature furnishes few situations as eligible for defence ; and barbarians never rendered one more secure by art, than was this by the Creeks. Across the neck of land which leads into it from the north, they had erected a breastwork, of the greatest compactness and strength, from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double rows of port-holes very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall manifested no less skill in the projectors of it, than its construction ; an army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy, who lay in perfect security behind it. The area of this peninsula, thus bounded by breastworks, included about eighty or one hundred acres.

In this bend the warriors from Oakfuskee, Oakchaya, New Youca, Hillabees, the Fish Ponds, and Eufauta towns, apprized of Jackson's approach, had collected their strength. Their exact number was not ascertained ; but it was believed to have been about one thousand : and relying with the utmost confidence upon their strength, their situation, and the assurances of their prophets, they calculated on repulsing Jackson with great ease.

Early on the morning of the 27th, having encamped the

* It is called by the Indians Tohopeka.

preceding night at the distance of six miles from the bend, Jackson detached General Coffee with the mounted men, and nearly the whole of the Indian force, to pass the river at a ford about three miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the remainder of the forces Jackson proceeded along the point of land, which led to the front of their breastwork; and at half past ten o'clock, planted his artillery on a small eminence, distant from the nearest point of the breastwork about eighty yards, and from its farthest about two hundred and fifty; from which a brisk fire was immediately opened upon its centre. Whenever the enemy showed themselves behind their works, or ventured to approach them, a galling fire was opened on them with musketry and rifles.

Meanwhile General Coffee, having crossed below, turned up the river, bearing away from its cliffs. When within half a mile of the village, which stood at the extremity of the peninsula, the savage yell was raised by the enemy. Expecting an immediate attack, Coffee drew up his forces in line of battle, in open hilly woodland, and moved forward in that position. The friendly Indians had been previously ordered to advance secretly and take possession of the bank of the river, and prevent the enemy from crossing on the approach of Jackson's main body in front. Accordingly, the fire of Jackson's cannon commencing when Coffee's troops were within about a quarter of a mile from the river, his Indians immediately rushed forward with great impetuosity to its banks. The militia were halted, and kept in order of battle, an attack on the rear being expected from the Oakfuskee villages, which lay on the river about eight miles below.

The fire of the cannon and small arms becoming now general and heavy in front, animated the Indians on the bank; and seeing about one hundred of the warriors, and all the squaws and children of the enemy running about among the huts of the village on the opposite shore, they could no longer remain silent spectators. While some kept up a fire across

the river (here about one hundred and twenty yards wide), to prevent the enemy's approach to the bank, others plunged into the river and swam across for canoes, that lay on the other side in considerable numbers. Having succeeded in bringing them over, numbers embarked, and landing in the peninsula, advanced into the village, and soon drove the enemy from the huts up to the fortification, where they pursued and continued to annoy them during the whole action.

This movement of the friendly Indians leaving the river bank unguarded, made it necessary that a part of Coffee's line should take their place. A company of rangers were accordingly posted on the bank of the upper part, and a lieutenant with forty men took possession of an island in the lower part of the bend.

Finding that the friendly Indians, notwithstanding the determined bravery they displayed, were wholly insufficient to dislodge the enemy, and that General Coffee had secured the opposite banks of the river, Jackson determined upon taking possession of the works by storm. Never were men better disposed for such an undertaking, than those by whom it was to be effected. They had entreated to be led to the charge with the most pressing importunity; and received the order which was now given with the strongest demonstration of joy. The effect was such as this temper of mind foretold. The regular troops, led by Colonel Williams and Major Montgomery, were presently in possession of the nearer side of the breastwork; and the militia accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which could not have been exceeded, and have seldom been equalled by troops of any description.

Having maintained for a few minutes a very obstinate contest, muzzle to muzzle, through the port holes, in which many of the enemy's balls were welded to the American bayonets, they succeeded in gaining possession of the opposite side of the works. The event could then no longer be doubtful; the enemy, although many of them fought to the last with that

kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were routed and cut to pieces. The whole margin of the river which surrounded the peninsula, was strewed with the slain: five hundred and fifty-seven were found, besides a great number who were thrown into the river by their surviving friends, and killed in attempting to pass it, by General Coffee's men, stationed on the opposite banks. Not more than twenty could have escaped. Among the dead was found their famous prophet Manahoe, shot in the mouth by a grape-shot, and two other prophets. Two or three women and children were killed by accident. The number of prisoners taken exceeded three hundred, all women and children excepting three or four.

The battle may be said to have continued with severity for about five hours; but the firing and the slaughter continued until it was suspended by the darkness of the night. The next morning it was resumed, and sixteen of the enemy slain, who had concealed themselves under the banks.

Jackson's loss was twenty-six white men killed, and one hundred and seven wounded; eighteen Cherokees killed, and thirty-six wounded; five friendly Creeks killed, and eleven wounded.

This most decisive battle completely broke the spirit as well as power of the hostile Creeks, who were never after able to make head against the troops of the United States. Jackson shortly after completely scoured the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers, and the intervening country. A part of the enemy on the latter river, just before his arrival, made their escape across it, and fled in consternation towards Pensacola. Most of the inhabitants on the Coosa and the neighbouring country came in, and surrendered unconditionally. Many of the negroes taken at Fort Mims were delivered up, and one white woman, with her two children.

A detachment of militia from North and South Carolina, under the command of Colonel Pearson, scoured the country below, upon the Alabama, took a number of prisoners, and received the submission of a great number of Creek warriors and prophets. On the return of Pearson's expedition, he had

with him upwards of six hundred of the late hostile Creeks, and nearly all the remaining negroes that had been captured at Fort Mims.*

On the first of August, the principal chiefs of the hostile Creeks, came to Fort Jackson and sued for peace. Their submission was complete. They agreed to deliver to the United States, a large and valuable portion of their territory, as an equivalent for the expenses incurred in prosecuting the war; and the right of the United States to establish military posts and trading houses, and to open roads within their territory, was acknowledged, as also, the right to the free navigation of all their waters. All the prisoners on both sides were to be restored; and the United States engaged to guarantee to them the remainder of their territory. In consideration of the nation being reduced to extreme want, and not having at present the means of subsistence, the United States engaged, from motives of humanity, to continue to furnish them gratuitously with the necessaries of life, until the crops of corn could be considered competent to yield the nation a supply; and to establish trading houses to enable the nation by industry and economy to procure clothing.

Thus ended the Creek war, after a prodigious slaughter of those brave, misguided men, and the unconditional submission of the remainder, excepting a few who took refuge in Florida.

* Historical Register vol. iv.





CHAPTER XVIII.

Northern Campaign of 1814.



It is to be observed that the commencement of the year 1814 was distinguished by events in Europe of the most portentous magnitude; the entry of the allied armies into Paris, the forced abdication of Napoleon, his exile to Elba, and the

establishment of general peace on the continent. These events, which filled the European world with almost universal exultation, produced in America a very different impression. The British forces, by sea and land, which had been instrumental in overthrowing the greatest military power in the world, were now to be concentrated against our country. With the accession of strength, the tone and temper of Britain had risen; and nothing but the entire subjugation of the United States appeared likely to satisfy the public writers of that island. Our republican institutions were destined to undergo a fiery trial, and the hitherto problematical question to be solved, whether a free government, which derived its chief strength from public opinion, was capable of sustaining itself single-handed, during a conflict with a power possessed of apparently boundless resources, and whose armies had just returned from "conquering the conquerors of Europe," and dictating an ignominious peace in their capital. The embarkation of part of that victorious army for America, so depressed the spirits of the people, that nearly the whole of the spring passed away without any very important movement of the army taking place.*

The main body of the American army on the Canadian frontier, had remained inactive through the winter in their cantonments at French Mills. Towards the middle of February they abandoned that place and marched in two columns, one under General Brown for Sackett's Harbour, and the other towards Lake Champlain under General Macomb. General Wilkinson remained one day behind for the protection of the rear, and then followed Macomb to Plattsburg.

After this period no movement of the army took place until the end of March. The American commander, had, in the mean time, directed a battery to be erected upon a point of the shore of Lake Champlain, from which it was supposed the British squadron could be kept in check. The enemy, on discovering this plan, collected a large force at La Cole Mill, a strong and extensive house, in the vicinity of the point.

* Hist. Reg. Murray. Ramsay.

To dislodge this party, and, at the same time, favour the operations of the army under General Brown, on the Niagara. General Wilkinson moved with about four thousand men from Plattsburg, and crossed the Canada frontier on the 30th of March ; after which parties of the enemy were encountered at Odletown, and driven back upon their main body. It was now determined to make an effort for the destruction of the fortified building, in which they were posted. An eighteen-pounder had been ordered forward to effect the destruction of the mill, but it broke down, and after being repaired, the only road of approach, through a deep forest, was reported to be impracticable to a gun of such weight. A fire, was accordingly opened from two smaller guns, which were worked with admirable precision and spirit ; such, however, was the solidity of the walls that no impression could be made upon them.

During the cannonade, which was returned by a sloop and some gun-boats from Isle aux Noix, several sorties and desperate charges were made from the mill upon the American battery. These were repulsed with great coolness by the covering corps, and the whole body engaged displayed the utmost gallantry and bravery, throughout the whole affair. Finding all attempts to make a breach, unsuccessful, and having experienced a loss of about one hundred men, in killed and wounded, General Wilkinson withdrew the battery, called in his detachments, and after removing the dead and wounded, with the baggage, fell back unmolested to Odletown. The enemy, who claimed in this affair, a brilliant victory acknowledged a loss of ten killed, forty-six wounded, and four missing.

This inauspicious opening of the campaign, joined to the failure of the expedition against Montreal the preceding autumn, threw a great deal of odium on General Wilkinson, and he was shortly after superseded in the command by General Izard.

On the 5th of May the British naval force under sir James Lucas Yeo, consisting of four large ships, three brigs, and a

number of gun and other boats, appeared off the village of Oswego, having on board seven companies of infantry, a detachment of artillery, and a battalion of marines, under the command of Lieutenant-General Drummond. This post being but occasionally, and not recently occupied by regular troops, was in a bad state of defence. It was garrisoned by about three hundred regulars, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, who had only arrived a few days before. Lieutenant Woolsey of the navy, with a small body of seamen, was also at the village, and as soon as the fleet appeared, the neighbouring militia were called in. About one o'clock the fleet approached, and fifteen boats, large and crowded with troops, at a given signal moved slowly to the shore. These were preceded by gun-boats, sent to rake the woods and cover the landing, while the larger vessels opened a fire upon the fort. As soon as the debarking boats got within range of the shot from the shore batteries, a very successful fire opened upon them, which twice compelled them to retire. They at length returned to the ships, and the whole stood off from the shore for better anchorage. Several boats which had been deserted by the enemy were taken up in the evening, one of which was sixty feet long, carried thirty-six oars and three sails, and could accommodate one hundred and fifty men. She had received a ball through her bow, and was nearly filled with water.

At day-break next morning the fleet appeared bearing up under easy sail, and about noon the frigates took a position directly against the fort and batteries, and opened a heavy fire, which was kept up for three hours, while the brigs, schooners, and gun-boats covered by their fire the debarkation of the troops. The Americans were now forced to retreat into the rear of the fort, where two companies met the advancing columns of the enemy, while the others engaged their flanks. Lieutenant Pearce of the navy, and some seamen, joined in the attack, and fought with their characteristic bravery. After a short action, Mitchell again commenced a retreat, which was effected in good order, destroying the bridges in

his rear. Indeed a retreat had become necessary for the protection of the stores at the falls, thirteen miles in the rear of the fort, which were supposed to form the principal object of the expedition.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the British evacuated the place, and retired to their shipping, after destroying the fort and those public stores which they could not carry away. These stores were not important, the most valuable having been deposited at the falls.

The American official account states their loss at six killed, thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-five missing; that of the British states theirs at nineteen killed and seventy-five wounded. Among them were several officers. Mitchell states the force landed at one thousand five hundred and fifty men, while the Americans engaged did not exceed three hundred, being four companies of the 3d artillery under Captains Boyle, Romaine, M'Intyre, and Pierce, a company of light artillery under Captain Melvin, and a small detachment of sailors under Lieutenant Pearce of the navy.*

Captain Woolsey, of the navy, was soon after detached to convey some stores to Sackett's Harbour by water. The stores were transported in eighteen boats, under the protection of Major Appling, with one hundred and thirty of the rifle regiment and about the same number of Indians. On the 29th of May they arrived off Sandy Creek, where they were discovered by the enemy's gun-boats, and chased into the creek. The riflemen were immediately landed, and, with the Indians placed in an ambuscade along the bank, a short distance below Captain Woolsey's boats, where the creek is narrow and shoal. Most of the men having withdrawn from the boats, the enemy gave three cheers at the prospect of the rich prize before him. His joy, however, was of short duration; for as he landed and endeavoured to ascend the bank, the riflemen rose from their concealment and poured so destructive a fire upon them, that, in ten minutes, the troops surrendered, to the number of about two hundred, including two

* Hist. Reg. Ramsey.

post-Captains and six Lieutenants. The Americans lost but one man.

Meanwhile General Brown was occupied in collecting and disciplining his forces preparatory to another invasion of Canada. On the night of the 2d of July his troops were embarked at Black Rock for an attack on Fort Erie. On landing the next morning he invested the fort, and a battery of heavy guns being planted in a position which completely commanded it, the garrison, consisting of one hundred and thirty-seven men, including officers, surrendered without firing a gun, and were made prisoners of war.

The British troops in the vicinity were at this period encamped at Chippewa; and were supposed to amount to about three thousand men, who were commanded by Major-General Riall. To the attack of this place, General Brown moved his army, on the succeeding day, leaving behind him a small garrison in Fort Erie, and encamped, in the evening, in a favourable position, within two miles of the enemy's works.

The American pickets were several times attacked on the morning of the 5th, by small parties of the British. About four in the afternoon, General Porter, with the volunteers and Indians, was ordered to advance from the rear of the American camp, and take a circuit through the woods to the left, in hopes of getting beyond the skirmishing parties of the enemy, and cutting off their retreat, and to favour this purpose the advance were ordered to fall back gradually under the enemy's fire. In about half an hour, however, Porter's advance met the light parties in the woods, and drove them until the whole column of the British was met in order of battle. From the clouds of dust and the heavy firing, General Brown concluded that the entire force of the British was in motion, and instantly gave orders for General Scott to advance with his brigade and Towson's artillery, and meet them on the plain in front of the American camp. In a few minutes Scott was in close action with a superior force of British regulars.

By this time Porter's volunteers having given way and fled, the left flank of Scott's brigade became much exposed. General Ripley was accordingly ordered to advance with a part of the reserve, and skirting the woods on the left, in order to keep out of view, endeavour to gain the rear of the enemy's right flank. The greatest exertions were made to gain this position, but in vain. Such was the gallantry and impetuosity of the brigade of General Scott, that its advance upon the enemy was not to be checked. Major Jessup, commanding the battalion on the left flank, finding himself pressed both in front and in flank, and his men falling fast around him, ordered his battalion to "support arms and advance." Amidst the most destructive fire this order was promptly obeyed, and he soon gained a more secure position, and returned upon the enemy so galling a discharge, as caused them to retire.

The whole line of the British now fell back, and the American troops closely pressed upon them. As soon as the former gained the sloping ground descending towards Chippewa, they broke and ran to their works, distant about a quarter of a mile, and the batteries opening on the American line, considerably checked the pursuit. Brown now ordered the ordnance to be brought up, with the intention of forcing the works. But on their being examined, he was induced, by the lateness of the hour, and the advice of his officers, to order the forces to retire to camp.

The American official account states their loss at sixty killed, two hundred and forty-eight wounded, and twenty missing. The British officially state theirs at one hundred and thirty-three killed, three hundred and twenty wounded, and forty-six missing.

Dispirited as was the public mind at this period, the intelligence of this brilliant and unexpected opening of the campaign on the Niagara could not fail of being most joyfully received. The total overthrow of the French power had a few months before liberated the whole of the British forces in Europe. A considerable portion of Lord Wellington's army,

flushed with their late successes in Spain, had arrived in Canada, and were actually opposed to Brown at Chippewa, while all our maritime towns were threatened by Britain's victorious armies, whose arrival was momentarily expected on the coast. When the intelligence of the stupendous events in Europe was first received, many consoled themselves with the idea, that the magnanimity of Great Britain would freely grant in her prosperity, what they had insisted we never could force from her in her adversity. Sincerely taking for realities the pretexts on which our neutral rights had been infringed, they thought the question of impressment, now the almost single subject of dispute, could easily be amicably arranged, when the affairs of the world were so altered as to render it nearly impossible that Great Britain could ever again be reduced to the necessity of "fighting for her existence;" or, at all events, as the peace in Europe had effectually removed the cause, and as the American government declined insisting on a formal relinquishment of the practice, no difficulty would be thrown in the way of a general and complete pacification of the world.

This illusion was soon dissipated. By the next advices from Europe it was learned, that the cry for vengeance upon the Americans was almost unanimous throughout the British empire. The president was threatened with the fate of Bonaparte, and it was said that the American peace ought to be dictated in Washington, as that of Europe had been at Paris. Even in parliament the idea was held out that peace ought not to be thought of till America had received a signal punishment, for having dared to declare war upon them while their forces were engaged in "delivering Europe" from its oppressor. The commencement of the negotiations for peace, which had been proposed by the British court, was suspended, and strenuous efforts were made to send to America as commanding a force as possible.

Under these circumstances, a victory gained by the raw troops of America over the veterans of Wellington, superior in numbers to the victors, upon an open plain, and upon

a spot chosen by the British general, had a most beneficial tendency, by dispelling the dread which the prowess of the British troops in Spain could not have failed to have produced in the minds of their opponents. This battle was to the army what the victory of Captain Hull had been to the navy; and the confidence which it thus inspired was surely most justly founded, for every man felt that the victory had been gained by superior skill and discipline: it was not the fruit of any accidental mistake or confusion in the army of the enemy, or of one of those movements of temporary panic on one side, or excitement on the other, which sometimes give a victory to irregular courage over veteran and disciplined valour.

After so signal a defeat, the British could not be induced to hazard another engagement. They abandoned their works at Chippewa, and burning their barracks, retired to fort Niagara and fort George, closely followed by Brown. Here he expected to receive some heavy guns and reinforcements from Sackett's Harbour; but on the 23d of July he received a letter by express from General Gaines, advising him that that port was blockaded by a superior British force, and that Commodore Chauncey was confined to his bed with a fever. Thus disappointed in his expectations of being enabled to reduce the forts at the mouth of the Niagara, Brown determined to disencumber the army of baggage, and march directly for Burlington Heights. To mask this intention, and to draw from Schlosser a small supply of provisions, he fell back upon Chippewa.

In the mean time, General Drummond, anxious to retrieve the credit of the British arms, had reinforced General Riall with all the troops he could collect at York, and the other posts on the peninsula; and having taken the command of this army, advanced upon the Americans, who had fallen back to Chippewa.

About noon on the 25th, General Brown was advised by an express from Lewistown, that the British were following him, and were in considerable force in Queenstown and on its

heights ; that four of the enemy's fleet had arrived with reinforcements at Niagara during the preceding night, and that a number of boats were in view, moving up the river. Shortly after, intelligence was brought that the enemy were landing at Lewistown, and that the baggage and stores at Schlosser, and on their way thither, were in danger of immediate capture. In order to recal the British from this object, Brown determined to put the army in motion towards Queenstown, and accordingly General Scott was directed to advance with the first brigade, Towson's artillery, and all the dragoons and mounted men, with orders to report if the enemy appeared, and if necessary, to call for assistance. On his arrival near the falls, Scott learned that the enemy was in force directly in his front, a narrow piece of woods alone intercepting his view of them. He immediately advanced upon them, after despatching a messenger to General Brown with this intelligence.

The report of the cannon and small arms reached General Brown before the messenger, and orders were instantly issued for General Ripley to march to the support of General Scott, with the second brigade and all the artillery, and Brown himself repaired with all speed to the scene of action, whence he sent orders for General Porter to advance with his volunteers. On reaching the field of battle, General Brown found that Scott had passed the wood, and engaged the enemy on the Queenstown road and on the ground to the left of it, with the ninth, eleventh, and twenty-second regiments, and Towson's artillery, the twenty-fifth having been thrown to the right to be governed by circumstances. The contest was close and desperate, and the American troops, far inferior in numbers, suffered severely.

Meanwhile Major Jessup, who commanded the twenty-fifth regiment, taking advantage of a fault committed by the British commander, by leaving a road unguarded on his left, threw himself promptly into the rear of the enemy, where he was enabled to operate with the happiest effect. The slaughter was dreadful ; the enemy's line fled down the road

at the third or fourth fire. The capture of General Riall, with a large escort of officers of rank, was part of the trophies of Jessup's intrepidity and skill; and, but for the impression of an unfounded report, under which he unfortunately remained for a few minutes, Lieutenant-General Drummond, the commander of the British forces, would inevitably have fallen into his hands, an event which would, in all probability, have completed the disaster of the British army. Drummond was completely in Jessup's power; but being confidently informed that the first brigade was cut in pieces, and finding himself with less than two hundred men, and without any prospect of support, in the midst of an overwhelming hostile force, he thought of nothing, for the moment, but to make good his retreat, and save his command. Of this temporary suspense of the advance of the American column, General Drummond availed himself to make his escape. Among the officers captured, was one of General Drummond's aids-de-camp, who had been despatched from the front line to order up the reserve, with a view to fall on Scott with the concentrated force of the whole army, and overwhelm him at a single effort. Nor would it have been possible to prevent this catastrophe, had the reserve arrived in time; the force with which General Scott would then have been obliged to contend being nearly quadruple that of his own. By the fortunate capture, however, of the British aid-de-camp, before the completion of the service on which he had been ordered, the enemy's reserve was not brought into action until the arrival of General Ripley's brigade, which prevented the disaster which must otherwise have ensued.

Though the second brigade pressed forward with the greatest ardour, the battle had raged for an hour before it could arrive on the field, by which time it was nearly dark. The enemy fell back on its approach. In order to disengage the exhausted troops of the first brigade, the fresh troops were ordered to pass Scott's line, and display in front, a movement which was immediately executed by Ripley. Meanwhile the enemy, being reconnoitered, was found to have taken a new

position, and occupied a height at the head of Lundy's Lane with his artillery, supported by a line of infantry, which gave him great advantages, it being the key to the whole position. To secure the victory, it was necessary to carry his artillery and seize the height. For this purpose the second brigade advanced upon the Queenstown road, and the first regiment of infantry, which had arrived that day, and was attached to neither of the brigades, was formed in a line facing the enemy on the height, with a view of drawing his fire and attracting his attention, as the second brigade advanced on his left flank to carry his artillery.

As soon as the first regiment approached its position, Colonel Miller was ordered to advance with the twenty-first regiment, and carry the artillery on the height with the bayonet. The first regiment gave way under the fire of the enemy; but Miller, undaunted by this occurrence, advanced steadily and gallantly to his object, and carried the heights and cannon in a masterly style. General Ripley followed on the right with the twenty-third regiment. It had some desperate fighting, which caused it to falter, but it was promptly rallied, and brought up.

The enemy being now driven from their commanding ground, the whole brigade, with the volunteers and artillery, and the first regiment, which had been rallied, were formed in line, with the captured cannon, nine pieces, in the rear. Here they were soon joined by Major Jessup, with the twenty-fifth, the regiment that had acted with such effect in the rear of the enemy's left. In this situation the American troops withstood three distinct desperate attacks of the enemy, who had rallied his broken corps, and received reinforcements. In each of them he was repulsed with great slaughter, so near being his approach, that the buttons of the men were distinctly seen through the darkness by the flash of the muskets, and many prisoners were taken at the point of the bayonet, principally by Porter's volunteers. During the second attack General Scott was ordered up, who had been held in reserve with three of his battalions, from the moment of Ripley's arrival on





the field. During the third effort of the enemy, the direction of Scott's column would have enabled him, in a few minutes, to have formed line in the rear of the enemy's right, and thus have brought him between two fires. But a flank fire from a concealed party of the enemy falling upon the centre of Scott's command, completely frustrated this intention. His column was severed in two; one part passing to the rear, the other by the right flank of platoons towards Ripley's main line.

This was the last effort of the British to regain his position and artillery, the American troops being left in quiet possession of the field. It was now nearly midnight, and Generals Brown and Scott being both severely wounded, and all the troops much exhausted, the command was given to General Ripley, and he was instructed to return to camp, bringing with him the wounded and the artillery. The pieces, however, were found in so dismantled a state, and such had been the slaughter of the horses, that to remove them at that late hour was found to be impracticable.

On the return of the troops to camp, General Brown sent for General Ripley, and after giving him his reasons for the measure, ordered him to put the troops into the best possible condition; to give to them the necessary refreshment; to take with him the pickets and camp guards, and every other description of force; to put himself on the field of battle as the day dawned, and there meet and beat the enemy if he again appeared.

General Ripley has been much blamed for the non-execution of this order, by which the captured cannon again fell into the hands of the British. General Brown, in his official report, says, "To this order he [Ripley] made no objection, and I relied upon its execution. It was not executed. On the part of General Ripley it is stated, that his orders were, in case the enemy appeared in force, "to be governed entirely by circumstances." His orders, therefore, were executed. At daybreak the army was arranged, and the march commenced, when circumstances of the most positive nature were

made apparent, such as must have been in view in the discretionary part of the order, and in the full effect of which General Ripley commenced and effected the retreat which afterwards led him to Fort Erie. The troops, reduced to less than one thousand six hundred men, were marched on the 26th by General Ripley toward the field of battle. Motion was commenced at day-break, but difficulties incidental to the late losses prevented the advance before some time had been spent in re-organization and arrangement. The line of march being assumed, and the Chippewa crossed, General Ripley sent forward Lieutenants Tappan of the twenty-third, and Riddle of the fifteenth, with their respective commands, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, strength, and movements. On examination, he was found in advance of his former position, on an eminence, strongly reinforced, as had been asserted by prisoners taken the preceding evening ; his flanks, resting on a wood on one side, and on the river on the other, defied being turned or driven in ; his artillery was planted so as to sweep the road ; besides these advantages, he extended a line nearly double in length to that which could be displayed by our troops. To attack with two-thirds the force of the preceding evening an enemy thus increased, was an act of madness that the first thought rejected. The army was kept in the field and in motion long enough to be assured of the strength and position of the enemy ; that information being confirmed, there remained but one course to prevent that enemy from impeding a retreat, which, had he been vigilant, he would previously have prevented. The army, therefore, immediately retrograded, and the retreat received the sanction of General Brown, previous to his crossing the Niagara.

The American official account states their loss in this battle at one hundred and seventy-one killed, five hundred and seventy-two wounded, and one hundred and seventeen missing ; the return of British prisoners presents an aggregate of one hundred and seventy-nine, including Major-general Riall, and a number of other officers.—The British state their loss to be eighty-four killed, five hundred and fifty-nine wounded,

one hundred and ninety-three missing ; their loss in prisoners they stated only at forty-one. Major-General Brown and Brigadier General Scott were among the wounded of the Americans, and Lieutenant-General Drummond and Major-General Riall among those of the British.*

Thus ended the battle of Niagara, a combat which is entitled to a conspicuous place in the American annals, from the courage of the parties, the loss sustained, and the incidental circumstances connected with it. Commencing in the evening, it continued until after midnight, the uncertain light of the moon enabling each party at times to discover the movements of its opponents, while, at intervals, the whole field was shrouded in darkness ; and the solemn roar of the Cataract of Niagara, which mingled its eternal clamor with the groans of the wounded, and the shouts of triumph, added to the interest and sublimity of the scene. The obstinacy and valour displayed on both sides rendered the combat of unusual length, considering the numbers engaged, and produced a most sanguinary result. The superiority of force was undoubtedly on the side of the British army at the commencement, and was made still greater by the accession of fresh troops. The American army, on the other hand, was divided, and its efforts insulated. The first brigade being nearly overpowered by the great superiority of the enemy, before the arrival of the second, the weight of the battle then fell on the latter. The victory, although claimed by the British commander, belonged undoubtedly to the American army, to which the occupation of the enemy's posts, and the capture of many of his chief officers and all his cannon, although the situation of the troops prevented the removal of the latter, justly entitled him.

In consequence of the wounds of Generals Brown and Scott, the command devolved on General Ripley, who pursued his retreat across the Chippewa, destroying the bridges in his rear, and throwing every possible impediment in the way of the enemy, in order to obstruct his advance. On

* Historical Register vol. iv.

the 27th of July, he reached Fort Erie, and began to mark out the lines of defence and fortification. The northern point, he determined to be Fort Erie, strengthened and extended towards the river, terminating in a battery on the bank. From Fort Erie southward the line was made by intrenchments and abattis, and extended, after making an angle, to an eminence called Snake-hill, which formed the southern angle, on which a redoubt was to be built; from thence eastwardly to the lake a defence of abattis.

The redoubts, abattis, intrenchments and traverses were instantly commenced. The ability of an army in patience, vigour and hardihood was never more fully elicited; nor can any monument of military exertion show a greater amount of labour accomplished in a shorter period, than can the works of Fort Erie, from the 27th of July until the 3d of August. On that day the enemy arrived before it. The impediments given to his advance by General Ripley when retreating, had retarded his approach until that day. When he arrived, it was but to witness that his opportunity had been lost. By one or two days of previous advance, he might have found the American army unintrenched and exposed; he now found it in a situation to defy him. Perceiving that nothing was to be done by a coup de main, the enemy drove in the pickets and made a regular investment. His main camp he planted about two miles distant, and in front of it a line of partial circumvallation extended around the fortifications; it consisted of two lines of intrenchment supported by block-houses; in front of these, and at favourable points, batteries, from which poured, on the encampment, an incessant and destructive fire. One battery in particular enfiladed the works, and from this and the many others, no part of them was secure. A few days after the investment, General Gaines arrived from Sackett's Harbour, and being senior in rank, assumed the command, although without making an alteration in any one point of General Ripley's arrangement.*

During the 13th and 14th, the enemy kept up a brisk can-

* Port Folio vol. xiv.

nonade, which was sharply returned from the American batteries, without any considerable loss. One of their shells lodged in a small Magazine, in Fort Erie, which was almost empty. It blew up with an explosion more awful in appearance than injurious in its effects, as it did not disable a man or derange a gun. A momentary cessation of the thunders of the artillery took place on both sides. This was followed by a loud and joyous shout by the British army, which was instantly returned on the part of the Americans, who, amidst the smoke of the explosion, renewed the contest by an animated roar of the heavy cannon.

From the supposed loss of ammunition, and the consequent depression such an event was likely to produce, General Gaines felt persuaded that this explosion would lead the enemy to assault, and made his arrangements accordingly. These suspicions were fully verified, by an attack that was made in the night between the 14th and 15th of August.

The night was dark, and the early part of it raining, but nevertheless one third of the troops were kept at their posts. At half past two o'clock, the right column of the enemy approached, and though enveloped in darkness, was distinctly heard on the American left, and promptly marked by the musketry under Major Wood and Captain Towson. Being mounted at the moment, Gaines repaired to the point of attack, where the sheet of fire rolling from Towson's battery, and the musketry of the left wing, enabled him to see the enemy's column of about fifteen hundred men approaching on that point; his advance was not checked until it had approached within ten feet of the infantry. A line of loose brush, representing an abattis, only intervened; a column of the enemy attempted to pass round the abattis, through the water, where it was nearly breast deep. Apprehending that this point would be carried, Gaines ordered a detachment of riflemen and infantry to its support; but at this moment the enemy were repulsed. They instantly renewed the charge, and were again driven back.

On the right, the fire of cannon and musketry announced

the approach of the centre and left columns of the enemy, under Colonels Drummond and Scott. The latter was received and repulsed by the ninth, under the command of Captain Foster, and Captains Boughton and Harding's companies of New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, aided by a six-pounder, judiciously posted by Major M'Kee, chief engineer.

But the centre, led by Colonel Drummond, was not long kept in check; it approached at once every assailable point of the fort, and with scaling-ladders ascended the parapet, where, however, it was repulsed with dreadful carnage. The assault was twice repeated, and as often checked; but the enemy having moved round in the ditch, covered by darkness, increased by the heavy cloud of smoke which had rolled from the cannon and musketry, repeated the charge, re-ascended the ladders, and with their pikes, bayonets, and spears fell upon the American artillerists, and succeeded in capturing the bastion. Lieutenant M'Donough, being severely wounded, demanded quarter. It was refused by Colonel Drummond. The lieutenant then seized a handspike, and nobly defended himself until he was shot down with a pistol by the monster who had refused him quarter, who often reiterated the order—"give the damned yankees no quarter." This officer, whose bravery, if it had been seasoned with virtue, would have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier—this hardened murderer soon met his fate. He was shot through the breast, while repeating the order "to give no quarter."

Several gallant attempts were made to recover the right bastion, but all proved unsuccessful. At this moment every operation was arrested by the explosion of some cartridges deposited in the end of the stone building adjoining the contested bastion. The explosion was tremendous and decisive: the bastion was restored by the flight of the British. At this moment Captain Biddle was ordered to cause a field-piece to be posted so as to enfilade the exterior plain and salient glacis. Though not recovered from a severe contusion in the shoulder, received from one of the enemy's shells, Biddle promptly took

his position, and served his field-piece with vivacity and effect. Captain Fanning's battery likewise played upon them at this time with great effect. The enemy were in a few moments entirely defeated, taken, or put to flight, leaving on the field two hundred and twenty-one killed, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners, including fourteen officers killed and seven wounded and prisoners. A large portion were severely wounded; the slightly wounded, it is presumed, were carried off.

The loss of the Americans during the assault was seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and eleven missing. The British acknowledge only fifty-seven killed, three hundred and nine wounded, and five hundred and thirty-nine missing. During the preceding bombardment, the loss of the Americans was seven killed, nineteen severely and seventeen slightly wounded. The loss of the British is not mentioned in their official account. This bombardment commenced at sunrise on the morning of the 13th, and continued without intermission till eight o'clock, P. M.; re-commenced on the 14th, at daylight, with increased warmth, and did not end until an hour before the commencement of the assault on the morning of the 15th.

A short time after this assault, General Gaines received a serious wound from the bursting of a shell, by which means the command once more devolved on General Ripley, till the 2d of September, when the state of his health allowed General Brown again to place himself at the head of his army.

The troops in Fort Erie began now to be generally considered as in a critical situation, and much solicitude to be expressed for the fate of the army that had thrown so much glory on the American name, menaced as it was in front by an enemy of superior force, whose numbers were constantly receiving additions, and whose batteries were every day becoming more formidable, while a river of difficult passage lay on their rear. Reinforcements were ordered on from Champlain, but they were yet far distant. But the genius of Brown was fully equal to the contingency, and the

difficulties with which he was environed served only to add to the number of his laurels.

Though frequent skirmishes occurred about this period, in which individual gallantry was amply displayed, yet no event of material consequence took place till the 17th of September, when, having suffered much from the fire of the enemy's batteries, and aware that a new one was about to be opened, General Brown resolved on a sortie in order to effect their destruction. The British infantry at this time consisted of three brigades, of twelve or fifteen hundred men each, one of which was stationed at the works in front of Fort Erie, the other two occupied their camp behind. Brown's intention therefore was, to storm the batteries, destroy the cannon, and roughly handle the brigade upon duty, before those in reserve could be brought into action.

On the morning of the 17th, the infantry and riflemen, regulars and militia, were ordered to be paraded and put in readiness to march precisely at twelve o'clock. General Porter with the volunteers, Colonel Gibson with the riflemen, and Major Brooks with the twenty-third and first infantry, and a few dragoons acting as infantry, were ordered to move from the extreme left upon the enemy's right, by a passage opened through the woods for the occasion. General Miller was directed to station his command in the ravine between Fort Erie and the enemy's batteries, by passing them by detachment through the skirts of the wood—and the twenty-first infantry under General Ripley was posted as a corps of reserve between the new bastions of Fort Erie—all under cover, and out of the view of the enemy.

The left column, under the command of General Porter, which was destined to turn the enemy's right, having arrived near the British entrenchments, were ordered to advance and commence the action. Passing down the ravine, Brown judged from the report of the musketry that the action had commenced. Hastening, therefore, to General Miller, he directed him to seize the moment, and pierce the enemy's entrenchments between batteries No. 2 and 3. These orders

were promptly and ably executed. Within thirty minutes after the first gun was fired, batteries No. 2 and 3, the enemy's line of entrenchments, and his two block houses, were in possession of the Americans.

Soon after, battery No. 1 was abandoned by the British. The guns in each were then spiked or otherwise destroyed, and the magazine of No. 3 was blown up.

A few minutes before the explosion, the reserve had been ordered up under General Ripley, and as soon as he arrived on the ground, he was ordered to strengthen the front line, which was then engaged with the enemy, in order to protect the detachments employed in demolishing the captured works. While forming arrangements for acting on the enemy's camp during the moment of panic, Ripley received a severe wound. By this time, however, the object of the sortie being accomplished beyond the most sanguine expectations, General Miller had ordered the troops on the right to fall back; and, observing this movement, Brown sent his staff along the line to call in the other corps. Within a few minutes they retired from the ravine, and thence to the camp.

Thus, says General Brown, in his despatch, one thousand regulars and an equal portion of militia, in one hour of close action, blasted the hopes of the enemy, destroyed the fruits of fifty days' labour, and diminished his effective force one thousand men at least.

In their official account of this sortie, the British published no returns of their loss, but from their vigorous resistance it must no doubt have been very great. Their loss in prisoners was three hundred and eighty-five. On the part of the Americans, the killed amounted to eighty-three, the wounded to two hundred and sixteen, and the missing to a like number.

A few days after this battle, the British raised the siege, and retreated behind the Chippewa. Meanwhile, the reinforcements from Plattsburg arrived at Sackett's Harbour, and after a few days' rest proceeded to the Niagara. They crossed that river on the 9th of October, when General Izard,

being the senior officer, superseded General Brown in the command. On the 14th, the army moved from Fort Erie, with the design of bringing the enemy to action. An attempt was made to dispute the passage of a creek at Chippewa plains, but the American artillery soon compelled the enemy to retire to their fortified camp, whence attempts were repeatedly made to draw them the following day, but without effect. A partial engagement took place on the 19th, which closed the campaign on this peninsula.*

On the 18th General Bissell was despatched, with about nine hundred men, to destroy the enemy's stores at Lyon's creek, which service he executed, after a sharp contest with a detachment from the enemy's army, of about twelve hundred men, under the Marquis of Tweeddale, which he succeeded in repulsing. The army of General Izard had, in the meantime, advanced towards Chippewa, where it found the enemy strongly posted in an intrenched camp, from which various attempts were made to entice him, but without success. The season being now far advanced, it was determined to withdraw the army to the American shore. Fort Erie being therefore destroyed, General Izard evacuated the Canadian territory, and distributed his troops at the posts of Buffalo, Black Rock, and Batavia.

On the north-western frontier, subsequently to the resignation of General Harrison, no operations of material importance were undertaken. The enterprising spirit of the western militia led them into frequent incursions into the enemy's territory, which generally terminated in a manner highly creditable to their bravery. Early in the spring of 1814, an engagement took place on the Thames, between a party of about one hundred and sixty men, under Captain Holmes, and a far superior force of the enemy, in which great valour was displayed on both sides; and, after an engagement of an hour's duration, the British troops retreated. An unsuccessful attempt was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan and Commodore Sinclair, to recover the post of Mackinaw. The

* Historical Register vol. iv.

operations on this frontier were closed by a well-conducted incursion of about eight hundred volunteers from Kentucky and Ohio, under General M'Arthur, who marched from Detroit to the river Thames; and, after dispersing the militia, destroying the public stores, and capturing a number of prisoners, returned with the loss of only one man. Thus ended the third and last invasion of Canada by the American forces.

During the months of July and August, the army from the Garonne, which had so greatly distinguished itself under General Wellington, arrived in the St. Lawrence; and part of the troops being sent up to the Niagara, the remainder, consisting of about fourteen thousand men, were organized by Sir George Prevost, agreeably to the orders of the prince regent, for the purpose of undertaking an expedition into the state of New-York. There is good reason to suppose, that if this expedition had been successful, a powerful attempt would have followed from another quarter on the city of New-York, in order, by seizing the line of the Hudson, completely to cut off the New England states.

The British troops were concentrated on the frontiers of Lower Canada, and took possession of Champlain on the 3d of September. The best part of the American troops in this quarter had previously been formed into the division, which had marched towards the Niagara, under General Izard. General Macomb, as senior officer, had been left in command. But excepting four companies of the 6th regiment, he had not an organized battalion. The garrison was composed of convalescents and recruits of the new regiments, not exceeding one thousand and five hundred effective men for duty; all in the greatest confusion, as well as the ordnance and stores, and the works in no state of defence.

Finding from the proclamations of the enemy, and his impressment of the wagons and teams in his vicinity, that an attack on Plattsburg was determined on, every exertion was made to place the works in a state of defence; and, to create an emulation and zeal among the officers and men, they were

divided into detachments, and placed near the several forts ; Macomb declaring in orders, that each detachment was the garrison of its own work, and bound to defend it to the last extremity.

As soon as the force of the enemy was ascertained, General Macomb called on General Mooers, of the New-York militia, and arranged with him plans for bringing forth the militia en-masse. The inhabitants of Plattsburg fled with their families and effects, except a few men and some boys, who formed themselves into a party, received rifles, and were exceedingly useful.

By the 4th of the month General Mooers collected about seven hundred militia, and advanced seven miles on the Beckman Town road, to watch the motions of the enemy, and to skirmish with him as he advanced ; also to obstruct the roads with fallen trees, and to break up the bridges. On the lake road, at Dead Creek bridge, two hundred men had been posted under Captain Sproul of the 13th regiment, with orders to abbatise the woods, to place obstructions in the road, and to fortify himself ; to this party were added two field-pieces. In advance of this position, was Lieutenant-Colonel Appling, with one hundred and ten riflemen, watching the movements of the enemy, and procuring intelligence.

It was ascertained, that before day-light on the 6th, the enemy would advance in two columns, on the two roads before mentioned, dividing at Sampson's, a little below Chazy village. The column on the Beckman Town road proceeded with great rapidity ; the militia skirmished with his advanced parties, and, except a few brave men, fell back precipitately in the greatest disorder, although the British troops did not deign to fire on them, except by their flankers and advanced patrols. The night previous, Major-Wool had been ordered to advance with a detachment of two hundred and fifty men to support the militia, and set them an example of firmness. Captain Leonard, of the light artillery, was also directed to proceed with two pieces to be on the ground before day ; but he did not make his appearance until 8 o'clock, when the

enemy had approached within two miles of the village. Major Wool, with his party, disputed the road with great obstinacy, but the militia could not be prevailed on to stand, notwithstanding the exertions of their general and staff officers; although the fields were divided by strong stone walls, and they were told that the enemy could not possibly cut them off. The state dragoons of New-York wore red coats, and they being on the heights to watch the enemy, gave constant alarm to the militia, who mistook them for the enemy, and feared his getting in their rear.

Finding the enemy's columns had penetrated within a mile of Plattsburg, General Macomb despatched his aid-de-camp to bring off the detachment at Dead Creek, and to order Lieutenant-Colonel Appling to fall on the enemy's right flank. The Colonel fortunately arrived just in time to save his retreat, and to fall in with the head of a column debouching from the woods. Here he poured in a destructive fire from his riflemen, and continued to annoy the column until he formed a junction with Major Wool. The field-pieces did considerable execution among the enemy's columns. So undaunted, however, was the enemy, that he never deployed in his whole march, always pressing on in column. This column, however, was much impeded by obstructions thrown in the way, and by the removal of the bridge at Dead Creek; as it passed the creek and beach, the galleys kept up on it a lively and galling fire.

The village of Plattsburg is situated on the north-west side of the small river Saranac, near where it falls into lake Champlain. The American works were situated on the opposite side of the river.

Every road was now full of troops crowding on all sides in upon Plattsburg. The field-pieces were therefore ordered to retire across the bridge, and form a battery, for its protection, and to cover the retreat of the infantry, which was accordingly done, and the parties of Appling and Wool, as well as that of Sproul, retired alternately, keeping up a brisk fire until they got under cover of the works. The enemy's light troops

then took possession of the houses near the bridge, and kept up a constant firing from the windows and balconies, but a few hot shot from the American works, which put the houses in flames, soon obliged these sharp shooters to retire. The whole day, until it was too late to see, the enemy's light troops endeavoured to drive the guards from the bridge, but they paid dearly for their perseverance. An attempt was also made to cross the upper bridge, where the militia resolutely drove them back. The troops being now all on the south side of the Saranac, the planks were taken off the bridges, and piled up in the form of breastworks to cover the parties intended to dispute the passage, which afterwards enabled them to hold the bridges against very superior numbers.

From the 7th to the 11th, the enemy was employed in getting on his battering train, and erecting his batteries and approaches, and constantly skirmishing at the bridges and fords. By this time, the militia of New-York and the volunteers of Vermont were pouring in from all quarters. They were all placed along the Saranac, to prevent the enemy's crossing the river, excepting a strong body sent in his rear to harass him day and night, and keep him in continual alarm. The militia behaved with great spirit after the first day, and the volunteers of Vermont were exceedingly serviceable. The regular troops, notwithstanding, the constant skirmishing and repeated endeavours of the enemy to cross the river, kept at their work day and night strengthening the defences, and evinced a determination to hold out to the last extremity.*

On the 11th an engagement took place between the British and American fleets, off Plattsburg, in full view of both armies, in which the Americans under Commodore Macdonough were completely victorious. The whole fleet, except a few small galleys which were saved by a timely flight, was surrendered to the Americans.

The batteries on shore were opened on the American works at the same instant that the engagement commenced on

* Historical Register vol. iv.

the lake, and continued throwing bomb-shells, sharpnells, balls, and Congreve rockets, until sunset, when the bombardment ceased, every battery of the British being silenced. Three efforts were made to pass the river at the commencement of the cannonade and bombardment, with a view of assaulting the works, and an immense number of scaling-ladders had been prepared for that purpose. One of these attempts was made at the village bridge, another at the upper bridge, and a third at a ford about three miles from the works. The two first were repulsed by the regulars; at the ford by the volunteers and militia. Here the enemy suffered severely in killed, wounded, and prisoners; a considerable body having crossed the stream, all of whom were either killed, taken, or driven back. A whole company of the seventy-sixth regiment was here destroyed, the three lieutenants and twenty-seven men prisoners, the captain and the rest killed. The woods at this place were very favourable to the operations of the militia.

The further prosecution of the expedition having become impracticable by the capture of the fleet, an event totally unlooked-for, at dusk the enemy withdrew his artillery from the batteries, and raised the siege; and at nine, under the cover of the night, sent off in a great hurry all the baggage he could find transport for, and also his artillery. At two, the next morning, the whole army precipitately retreated, leaving behind their sick and wounded; the commander left a note with the surgeon, requesting for them the humane attention of General Macomb.

Vast quantities of provisions were left behind and destroyed, also an immense quantity of bomb-shells, cannonballs, grape-shot, ammunition, flints, &c. intrenching tools of all sorts, and tents and marquees. A great deal was afterwards found concealed in the ponds and creeks, and buried in the ground, and a vast quantity was carried off by the inhabitants.

Such was the precipitancy of the retreat of the British, that they arrived at Chazy, a distance of eight miles, before their

flight was discovered. The light troops, volunteers, and militia pursued immediately; and some of the mounted men made prisoners of a few of the rear guard. A continual fall of rain and a violent storm, prevented further pursuit. Upwards of three hundred deserters came in.*

The sick and wounded of the enemy were left behind; and great quantities of provisions, and the munitions of war, were concealed or destroyed. Their killed and wounded amounted, according to their official report, to only two hundred and fifty. Their whole loss, however, including deserters, from their first appearance at Plattsburg, was supposed by General Macomb to be about twenty-five hundred. That of the Americans was only ninety-nine. Thus gloriously for the interest and honour of the republic, did this invasion of its territory terminate. It was the last expedition undertaken on this frontier during the war, and served to gild with great, and it may be said unusual splendour its final operations.

* Historical Register vol. iv.





CHAPTER XIX.

Eastern and Southern Campaign of 1814.



URING the first years of the war, the British affected to conciliate the New England states, by exempting their harbours from blockade, by refraining from the predatory incursions with which they kept the southern coasts in a continual alarm, and, in one case, even proclaiming that a system of perfect neutrality was to be observed towards them by the sea and land forces of Great Britain. A different system was adopted this summer. The whole of the coast of the United states from its southern to its most eastern boundary, was declared to be in a state of blockade, and a force was stationed along the same for the purpose of maintaining it.

This step was soon afterwards followed by another, still

more plainly at variance with the previous declaration and conduct of the British government. Shortly after the declaration of war, the Governor of Nova Scotia issued a proclamation directing the inhabitants of that province to abstain from any acts of warfare against those residing on the boundary line of the United States, permitting them to continue their coasting trade, and ordering, in particular, that respect should be paid to the persons and property of the inhabitants of Eastport. This town, which is situated on Moose Island, in the bay of Passamaquoddy, had been held by the United States since the war of independence, although never definitively allotted to them. The island was claimed by both parties; and, after two years of neutrality, the British government determined to take possession of it. Accordingly, on the 11th of July Sir Thomas Hardy landed a powerful force, and, having occupied Eastport, declared all the country on the eastern shore of the bay to belong to his Britannic majesty, and required the inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to his government. With this order the greater part of the people complied; and the island remained in the possession of the British troops until the conclusion of the war.

From this place the British admiral soon after sailed for the coast of Connecticut, with a part of his squadron. On the 9th of August, he appeared before the village of Stonington, in that state, with a ship of seventy-four guns, a frigate, a bomb-ship, and two gun-brigs, and immediately summoned the place to surrender.

In the course of the day, a number of flags passed to and from the place; the conditions required were, that the family of Mr. Stewart, late consul at New London, should be immediately sent off to the squadron; that the two guns in the battery should be removed; and that no torpedoes should be fitted from, or suffered to be in the harbour. The terms being sent over to New London to General Cushing, the commanding officer of this district, he replied, that the request for the removal of Mr. Stewart's family would be forwarded to Washington; with the others he would not comply.

In the evening, the British commenced the attack with rockets from one of the brigs; a great number of rockets were thrown, with little or no effect. The brig then hauled up within a short distance of the battery, and kept up a heavy and well directed fire from guns of a very large calibre, which was returned by the two eighteen pounders in the little battery, till their ammunition was expended. During this time the brig had grounded. A supply of ammunition having arrived from New London, the fire from the battery was recommenced, and with such effect, that the brig slipped her cables, and towed off, out of reach of the eighteen pounders, she having previously swung clear of the ground.

On the 10th, a number of flags passed; the commodore still insisting on his former terms. On the following morning, the last flag passed, with Hardy's ultimatum, at eleven o'clock, viz.: that Mrs. Stewart should be put on board by two o'clock P. M. or he would destroy the place. He, however, did not commence till three o'clock, at which time the bomb-ship commenced from two mortars, one a fifteen inch, and the other thirteen. The bombardment continued from this time, till half past eight in the evening, without intermission; the place was several times on fire, and as often put out by the soldiers and inhabitants.

At daylight on the 12th, the attack was re-commenced from the bomb-ship, seventy-four, and frigate, and continued, with little intermission, till half past nine, A. M. when the tide began to ebb, and the ships thought proper to haul off. In the afternoon they set sail, and left the sound by dark.

As Commodore Hardy has never favoured the world with his official account of this valiant and famous affair, we are entirely at a loss to conjecture what could have been his motive. One *horse*, and one *goose* constituted the whole list of killed on shore; a lieutenant and three privates of the militia, were slightly wounded by the bursting of a shell, and two men in the battery by a piece going off at half charge. The town was but little damaged, considering the tremendous cannonade and bombardment it sustained: one half of the

houses were untouched, and not one entirely demolished, although every ship threw its shot completely over the point. Nearly three hundred shells and fire-carriages were thrown into the village, making, it was estimated, fifty tons of metal. Three or four tons of shot, carcasses, and bombs were collected by the inhabitants.—After the bombardment, it was learned from good authority, that the British had a number killed, and several badly wounded, by the fire from the two eighteen pounders on shore.*

Elated by the result of recent events in Europe, the British government conceived the design of taking possession of that part of Maine which lies east of the Penobscot, with the view of retaining it at the treaty of peace. Towards the end of August, an expedition sailed from Halifax for this purpose, the land forces being commanded by Governor Sherbrooke, and the vessels by Admiral Griffith. On the 1st of September, the fleet arrived at Castine, of which the troops took possession without opposition, the small garrison stationed there having previously abandoned it. The next day, several of the vessels, with ten barges and about one thousand men, were despatched up the river, for the purpose of capturing the frigate *John Adams*, commanded by Captain Morris, which had recently entered the Penobscot, after a successful cruise, and lay at Hampdon, about thirty-five miles from Castine. Apprised of the approach of the enemy, Captain Morris had landed her guns, and erected some batteries on the neighbouring heights for her protection. The militia of the vicinity, to the number of about three hundred and fifty, were assembled, and posted on the flanks of the seamen, who were drawn up in front of the village. On the approach of the enemy, the former immediately fled; and the crew of the *John Adams* being thus left without support, their commander was compelled to order them to retire, which was done in good order: and, the frigate being previously blown up, the whole body effected its retreat. A number of the militia, however, and some cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy, whose loss was

* Historical Register vol. iv.

estimated by Captain Morris, at eight killed and about forty wounded.

Machias being now the only post remaining between the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy bay, a brigade was sent against it from Castine. It was taken without resistance, and Colonel Pilkington, the British commander was making arrangements to proceed into the interior of the country, when he received a letter from Brigadier-General Brewer, commanding the district, engaging that the militia within the county of Washington should not bear arms, or in any way serve against his Britannic Majesty during the war. A similar offer having been made by the civil authorities and principal citizens of the county, a cessation of arms was agreed upon. Thus was this large district of country, from the Penobscot eastward, taken possession of almost without resistance.

The British squadron in the Chesapeake under Admiral Cockburn, still continued their system of plunder and devastation along the coasts of the bay, and the numerous rivers of which it forms the estuary. Towards the end of June, certain intelligence was received of the complete success of the allies in the subjugation of France, and the government was led to believe, as well from communications received from our ministers abroad, as from the tone of the British prints, that a powerful force was about to be sent to the United States. A variety of considerations pointed to Washington City and Baltimore as prominent objects of attack.

Immediate measures of defence had therefore become necessary; and accordingly, a new military district was created, embracing the state of Maryland, the District of Columbia, and that part of Virginia lying between the Rappahannoc and Potomac, the command of which was given to General Winder. A requisition was made on certain states for a corps of ninety-three thousand five hundred militia, and the executive of each state was requested to detach and hold in readiness for immediate service their respective quotas. Of that requisition, two thousand effectives from the quota of Virginia; five thousand from that of Pennsylvania; six thousand, the

whole quota of Maryland ; and two thousand, the estimated number of the militia of the District of Columbia, were put at the disposition of General Winder, making an aggregate of fifteen thousand, exclusive of about one thousand regulars. But this force, which, had it been well organized, and ready to meet the foe at any threatened point, would have been amply sufficient for defence, totally failed in the hour of need. From the tardiness incident to the imperfect militia system of the United States, the Virginia and Pennsylvania troops could not be organized in time to meet the enemy, although the battle which sealed the fate of Washington did not take place till a month after they were called out. And even of the Maryland militia, nearly one half joined the army but half an hour before the action. A considerable part of this delay was occasioned by General Winder's not receiving the authority to call out the state troops for some time after it was issued, owing to his being constantly in motion at this period, in order to acquire a complete knowledge of the topography of the district.

During the month of July, the enemy's fleet ascended both the Potomac and Patuxent, and committed great depredations, particularly on the former river. Admiral Cochrane arrived in the Chesapeake in the beginning of August, and on the 17th, the fleet, now in great force, was joined by Admiral Malcolm, with the expedition from Bermuda, destined against Baltimore and Washington.

The circumstance of Barney's flotilla having taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent proved extremely favourable to an attack on Washington, as it masked the intention of the enemy. This attack, therefore, being determined on, Cochrane moved his squadron up the river. Previously to his entering the Patuxent, however, he detached Captain Gordon, with a number of ships and bombs to the Potomac, to bombard Fort Warburton, with a view of destroying that fort, and opening a free communication above, as well as to cover the retreat of the army, should its return by the Bladensburg road be found too hazardous. Sir Peter Parker, with the

Menelaus and some small vessels, was sent up the Chesapeake to make a diversion in that quarter. The remainder of the naval force, and the troops, moved up the Patuxent to Benedict, where the army was landed upon the 19th and 20th.

So soon as the necessary provisions and stores could be assembled and arranged, Major-General Ross, with his army, moved towards Nottingham, while the British flotilla, consisting of the armed launches, pinnaces, barges, and other boats of the fleet, under Admiral Cockburn, passed up the river, keeping on the right flank of the army, for the double purpose of supplying it with provisions, and, if necessary, of passing it over to the left bank of the river, which secured a safe retreat to the ships, should it be judged necessary. The army reached Nottingham on the 21st, and the following day arrived at Marlborough. The flotilla, keeping pace with the army, arrived within sight of Barney's flotilla on the 22d. It was instantly set on fire by a small party of sailors who had been left for that purpose, the commodore having previously joined General Winder with the greater part of his force. The flotilla soon blew up, excepting one vessel, which fell into the hands of the enemy.*

While a large regular army, well disciplined and accoutred, accompanied with a strong naval force, was thus within sixteen miles of the American capital, the principal part of the force destined to defend it had not arrived, and a considerable portion still remained at their homes. The actual force under General Winder only amounted to about three thousand men, of whom fourteen hundred were regulars, including the marines and sea-fencibles under Commodore Barney; the remainder were volunteers and militia, principally from the District of Columbia. The force of the enemy at this time was variously estimated. The best opinion made them from five thousand to seven thousand. They were without cavalry, and had only two small field pieces and one howitzer, drawn by men. Four hundred of the American

* Historical Register vol. iv.

troops were cavalry, and they had seventeen pieces of artillery.

On the afternoon of the 23d, the British army again set out, and after some skirmishing with the American advance, in which the latter were compelled to retreat, bivouacked for the night, five miles in advance of Marlborough. Towards sunset, General Winder ordered his troops to retreat to Washington, that he might effect a union of his whole force. To this he was also induced by the fear of a night attack, from the superiority of the enemy, and want of discipline in his troops, and knowing that in such an attack his superiority in artillery could not be used.

Meanwhile General Stansbury arrived at Bladensburg on the 22d with about thirteen hundred Baltimore militia, and on the evening of the 23d he was joined by Colonel Sterrett with another militia regiment from Baltimore, about five hundred strong, a rifle battalion of about one hundred and fifty men, and two companies of volunteer artillery, also about one hundred and fifty strong; making Stansbury's whole force about twenty-one hundred. Most of these troops were extremely fatigued by their march from Baltimore.

General Stansbury encamped during the night of the 23d on a hill near Bladensburg, with the intention of attacking the enemy at reveille next morning, in compliance with previous orders from General Winder. Near midnight, a firing from the advanced pickets on the road by which the enemy was expected, caused the troops to be prepared for action, and they were kept under arms till after two the following morning; and hardly had they again retired to their tents, when information was received from General Winder that he had retreated to the city by the Eastern branch bridge. As this movement of Winder exposed both the rear and right flank of Stansbury's troops, and his officers, whom he immediately consulted, were unanimous in opinion that his situation on the hill could not be defended with the force then under his command, worn down with hunger and fatigue as they were, it was considered indispensably necessary that the

troops should immediately retire across the bridge at Bladensburg, and take a position which they could defend on the road between that place and the city. Orders were therefore instantly given to strike tents and prepare to march. In about thirty minutes, without noise or confusion, the whole were in motion, and about half past three in the morning, passed the bridge at Bladensburg, which leads to the city of Washington. Securing the rear from surprise, the troops halted in the road till the approach of day, with a view of finding some place where water could be had, that the men might partake of some refreshment.

Early in the morning of the 24th, the troops were again put in motion towards the city, with a view of taking a stand on some more favourable ground for defence, when orders were received from General Winder to give the enemy battle at Bladensburg, should he move that way, and that he would join, if necessary. Stansbury immediately ordered his troops to retrace their steps to Bladensburg, and took a position to the west of that place, in an orchard on the left of the Washington road. Here his artillery, consisting of six six-pounders, posted themselves behind a small breastwork of earth, which had been lately thrown up, and the riflemen and infantry were posted in the rear and to the left, so as to protect the position. This battery commanded the pass into Bladensburg, and the bridge leading to Washington.

Meanwhile General Winder's troops, including Commodore Barney's command, made a rapid march from Washington, and arrived upon the ground just as the enemy made their appearance behind Bladensburg. Colonel Beall, with about eight hundred militia from Annapolis, had crossed the bridge about half an hour before, and posted himself on the right of the Washington road. The force which had arrived from the city was formed in a second line on the right and left of the road in the rear of Stansbury's and Beall's command, the heavy artillery under Commodore Barney being posted on or near the road.

About half after twelve, while the second line was forming,

the enemy approached, and the battle commenced. The Baltimore artillery opened their fire, and dispersed the enemy's light troops now advancing along the street of the village, who took a temporary cover behind the houses and trees, in loose order, and presented objects only occasionally for the fire of the cannon. The enemy then commenced throwing his rockets, and his light troops began to concentrate near the bridge, and to press across it and the river, which was fordable above. The Baltimore riflemen now united with the fire of the battery; and for some time with considerable effect. The enemy's column was not only dispersed while in the street, but while approaching the bridge they were thrown into some confusion, and the British officers were seen exerting themselves to press the soldiers on. Having now gained the bridge, the enemy passed it rapidly, and immediately flanked, formed the line and advanced steadily on, which compelled the artillery and riflemen to give way. But they were soon rallied, and united with the other Baltimore troops at a small distance in the rear of their first position. One of the pieces of artillery was abandoned and spiked.*

A company of volunteer artillery from the city, under the command of Captain Burch, and a small detachment near it, now opened a cross fire on the enemy, who were partially sheltered by the trees of an orchard, and kept up a galling fire on part of the American line. Colonel Sterret, with one of the Baltimore regiments, was ordered to advance, and made a prompt movement until ordered to halt; for at this moment the other two Baltimore regiments were thrown into confusion by the rockets of the enemy, and began to give way. In a few minutes they took to flight, in defiance of all the exertions of Generals Winder and Stansbury and other officers. Burch's artillery and Sterret's regiment remained firm, until, being out flanked, they were ordered to retreat, with a view of re-forming at a small distance in the rear. But instead of retiring in order, the militia regiment retreated in disorder and confusion. Thus was the first line, which con-

* Historical Register vol. iv.

sisted almost exclusively of Baltimore militia, totally routed and put to flight.

On the right Colonels Beall and Hood, commanding the Annapolis militia, had thrown forward a small detachment, under Colonel Kramer. After maintaining their ground for some time with considerable injury to the enemy, this advance was driven back on the main body. Their retreat exposed the enemy's column in the road to the city artillery, under Major Peter, which continued an animated discharge on them till they came in contact with Commodore Barney's command. Here the enemy met the greatest resistance, and sustained the greatest loss, while advancing upon the retreating line. When the British came in full view, and in a heavy column in the main road, Barney ordered an eighteen pounder to be opened upon them, which completely cleared the road, and repulsed them. In several attempts to rally and advance, the enemy were again repulsed, which induced them to flank to the right of the American line in an open field. Here three twelve-pounders opened upon them, and the flotilla men acted as infantry with considerable effect. The enemy continued flanking to the right, and pressed upon the Annapolis militia, which gave way after three or four rounds of ineffectual fire, while Colonel Beall and other officers attempted to rally the men upon their high position. Commodore Barney's command now had the whole force of the enemy to contend with. The British never again, however, attempted to appear in force in front, but continuing to outflank, pushed forward a few scattering sharp-shooters, by whom Barney was wounded, and several of his officers killed or wounded. Being now completely out-flanked on both sides, the ammunition-wagons having gone off in disorder, and that which the marines and flotilla men had, being exhausted, Barney ordered a retreat; in consequence of his wound, he himself was made prisoner. His pieces fell into the hands of the enemy.

The Georgetown and city militia, and the few regulars which were on the field, still remained firm; but being now

also outflanked, they were ordered by General Winder to retreat, which was effected with as much order as the nature of the ground would permit. After retiring five or six hundred paces, they were halted and formed, but were again ordered to retreat, and to collect and form on the height near the capitol. Here they were joined by a regiment of Virginia militia, who had arrived in the city the preceding evening, but had been detained there by some difficulties which had arisen in furnishing them with arms and ammunition.

General Winder had endeavoured to direct the retreat of the Baltimore troops towards the city, but from the confusion in which they fled, was not able to effect it, and they directed their course northwardly towards Montgomery court-house. This wrong direction to their course was principally caused by their ignorance of there being a second line of troops behind them, General Winder's forces having arrived just as the action commenced.

The British estimated their loss in this battle at sixty-four killed, and one hundred and eighty-five wounded. The loss of the Americans was estimated by the superintending surgeon at ten or twelve killed, and about thirty wounded, some of whom afterwards died. The most probable estimate of the British force made it about four thousand five hundred; of the American six thousand; but it must be recollected that the enemy's troops were all regulars, who had seen service, and were led by able officers of great experience, while the American troops were all militia, with the exception of a few hundred seamen and regulars; that one half of them were not collected together till the day before the engagement, and about eight hundred did not arrive till a few minutes before its commencement; that from the uncertainty whether Baltimore, the city of Washington, or Fort Washington, would be selected as the point of attack, it was necessary that the troops should frequently change their positions, owing to which, and to alarms causelessly excited on the night of the 23d, they were all much fatigued, and many of them nearly exhausted, at the time when the hostile army was

crossing the bridge ; and finally, that the officers commanding the troops were generally unknown to General Winder, and but a very small number of them had enjoyed the benefit of military instruction or experience. When these circumstances are taken into consideration, we think we shall not hazard much in asserting, now that the violent feelings of the moment have subsided, that the American militia rather gained than lost honour on the field of Bladensburg. The Baltimore troops fought gallantly, until forced to retreat by their flanks being turned. While retreating, by order of their commander, they were thrown into confusion by a new mode of warfare, of which the effects were to them totally unknown*. The bravery of Barney's command needs no comment, and the orderly retreat of the Annapolis and District of Columbia militia, in the face of a regular army of superior numbers (now that the Baltimore troops had dispersed), is above all praise.

A remarkable circumstance attendant on this battle was the presence of the American president and heads of departments. They retreated with the second line of troops to Washington, where a consultation was held with the commanding general as to the propriety of making a stand on the heights near the capitol, or in the capitol itself. General Winder stated, that the diminution of his force was such as to render it impossible to place his troops in a position which would prevent the enemy from taking him on the flanks as well as in front ; and that no reasonable hope could be entertained, that any of the troops could be relied on to make a resistance as desperate as necessary, in an isolated building, which could not be supported by a sufficiency of troops without : indeed it would have taken nearly the whole of the troops, he said, to have sufficiently filled the two wings, which would have left the enemy masters of every other part of the city, and given him the opportunity, without risk, in twenty-four hours to have starved them into a surrender. The objection equally applied to the occupation of any particular part of the city. It was accordingly determined to retire through Georgetown,

* See page 392

and take post on the heights in the rear of that place, with a view of collecting together the whole of the forces.

It is impossible, says the commander of the militia of the district, in his despatch ; it is impossible to do justice to the anguish evinced by the troops of Washington and Georgetown, on the receipt of this order. The idea of leaving their families, their houses, and their homes, at the mercy of an enraged enemy, was insupportable. To preserve that order which was maintained during the retreat, was now no longer practicable. As they retired through Washington and Georgetown, numbers were obtaining and taking leave to visit their homes, and again rejoining ; and with ranks thus broken and scattered, they halted at night on the heights near Tenly Town, and on the ensuing day assembled at Montgomery court-house.

Meanwhile General Ross, after halting his army a short time for refreshment, pushed on towards Washington, where he arrived unmolested about eight in the evening. Having stationed his main body on the heights about a mile and a half east of the capitol, he led his advance, consisting of about seven hundred men, into the deserted city.

Washington, though denominated a city, and though the seat of the federal government, possessed but an inconsiderable population, which was sparsely scattered over an extensive site. The capitol stood near the centre of the city ; the president's house and navy yard are each distant about a mile from that building, in opposite directions. Around each of these situations, stood what would elsewhere be denominated a village, and a few scattering rows of buildings had been erected on the avenue leading from the capitol to the president's house, and thence to Georgetown, each about a mile in length. The number of houses in the city did not exceed nine hundred ; its inhabitants amounted to about eight thousand. The capitol and the president's house were built of a beautiful white freestone, and were then deservedly esteemed the finest specimens of architecture in the United States, if not upon the continent. The capitol was in an unfinished

state, the two wings only having been erected; the upper part of the north wing contained the senate-chamber, with the committee rooms, and office containing their archives, and the congressional library, a valuable collection of books; in the lower part was the hall of the supreme court of the United States. The southern wing was exclusively devoted to the hall of the house of representatives and their necessary offices, the whole of the upper part being occupied by the hall and its galleries.

Washington, thus abandoned to the British arms, presented now a most deplorable scene. Though surrendered without the slightest opposition, and though totally without fortifications, the British naval and military commanders (Admiral Cockburn and General Ross) immediately issued orders for, and personally superintended the conflagration of the public buildings, with all the testimonials of taste and literature which they contained. The capitol and the president's house, together with the costly and extensive buildings erected for the accommodation of the principal officers of government in the transaction of public business, were, on the memorable night of the 24th of August, consigned to the flames. The large hotel on the capitol hill, the great bridge across the Potomac, and the private rope-walks, shared the same fate.

A consultation had been held by the president and the heads of departments on the subject of the navy yard, on the morning preceding the battle of Bladensburg. The secretary of the navy described the situation of the public vessels, and the nature of the public property, at that establishment; the vast importance of the supplies, and of the shipping, to the enemy, particularly as there appeared to be no doubt of his squadron forming a junction with his army, should it succeed in the conquest of the capitol (General Winder having distinctly stated on the same morning, that Fort Washington could not be defended); and as, in this event, nothing could be more clear than that he would first plunder, and then destroy the buildings and improvements; or if unable to carry

off the plunder and the shipping, he would destroy the whole. And if the junction should be formed, it would be a strong inducement to the enemy to remain, in order to launch the new frigate, which the force at his command would accomplish in four or five days. He would then carry off the whole of the public stores and shipping, and destroy the establishment; and, in the mean time, greatly extend the field of his plunder and devastation. Thus, in either case, whether the junction was formed, or whether the army alone entered the city, the loss or destruction of the whole of the public property at the navy yard was certain. It was, therefore, determined, as the result of this consultation, that the public shipping, and naval and military stores, and provisions at the navy yard, should be destroyed, in the event of the enemy's obtaining possession of the city. Agreeably to this determination, the trains, which had been previously laid, were fired on the approach of the enemy, and the public buildings, stores, and vessels were soon wrapped in flames, and were all destroyed, excepting the new schooner *Lynx*, which escaped in an extraordinary manner. The issuing store of the yard, and its contents, which had escaped the original conflagration, were soon after totally destroyed by the enemy.

The only loss which the enemy sustained in the city was at Greenleaf's point. A detachment was sent down to destroy it, and in the midst of their devastations, a firebrand having been thrown into a dry well in which a quantity of powder had been previously hidden, it exploded with great violence, by which a number of lives were lost.

Nearly the whole of the male population having joined the army, a great number of houses were broken open and plundered by the blacks and a few disorderly inhabitants. The conduct of the British in general was orderly.

The utmost efforts of General Winder were now devoted to collect his troops, and to prepare them to move down toward the city, and hang upon and strike at the enemy whenever an opportunity occurred. The next morning, how-

ever, intelligence was received that the enemy had moved from Washington the preceding night, and was in full march for Baltimore. Winder accordingly advanced as rapidly as was practicable to that city; but on his arrival at Snell's bridge, on the Patuxent, he learned that the enemy was proceeding to Marlborough, and not toward Baltimore.

Having completed the destruction of the public buildings in the course of the 25th, the British left the city at nine that night, and by a rapid march reached Marlborough in the course of the next day. On the evening of the 29th, they reached Benedict, and re-embarked the following day.

Meanwhile, Captain Gordon proceeded up the Potomac with his squadron, consisting of two frigates, two bomb-vessels, two rocket-ships, and a schooner. Owing to the shoals, and contrary winds, they were not able to reach Fort Washington, about fifteen miles below the city, until the evening of the 27th, two days after the army under Ross had commenced their retreat. The bomb-ships immediately began to bombard the fort; but, on the bursting of the first shell, the garrison was observed to retreat, and in a short time, to the great surprise of the British commander, the fort was blown up.

When the British army first left the Patuxent, their destination could not be foretold by General Winder. Baltimore, Fort Washington, and the federal city seemed equally threatened. Fort Washington, which commands the Potomac, was considered almost impregnable to any attack by water, though too weak to be defended against any large force by land. Captain Dyson, the commander, therefore, was instructed, in case the British army should approach his rear, to blow up the fort, and proceed with his command across the Potomac. But nothing was farther from the intention of General Winder, than that this important post should be deserted, on being attacked by a naval force.

Nothing was now left to oppose the progress of the British squadron, and they proceeded slowly up the river to Alexandria, with their barges employed in sounding in advance.

On the day preceding the battle of Bladensburg, a committee of vigilance, which had been appointed by the inhabitants to watch over the safety of Alexandria, in this time of peril, despairing, they allege, of receiving any assistance from the general government, and having information of the rapid approach of the enemy towards the capital by land, and that their squadron was approaching Alexandria by water, deemed it their duty to recommend to the common council the passage of a resolution, that in case the British vessels should pass the fort, or their forces approach the town by land, and there should be no sufficient force to oppose them, with any reasonable prospect of success, they should appoint a committee to carry a flag to the officer commanding the enemy's force about to attack the town, and to procure the best terms in their power for the safety of persons, houses, and property. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the common council, and on the arrival of the British at Washington, a flag was sent to the British commander there, to know what treatment might be expected from him, in case his troops should approach Alexandria, and should succeed in obtaining possession of the town. The deputation were assured by Admiral Cockburn, that private property of all descriptions should be respected ; that it was probable that fresh provisions and some flour might be wanted, but that whatever they did take should be paid for.

After the blowing up of Fort Washington, a similar deputation was despatched to the naval commander. But Gordon had other intentions than those avowed by Cockburn. He would give no reply until he had placed his shipping in such a position before the town, as would ensure assent to the hard terms he had decided to enforce. These were, the surrender of all naval and ordnance stores, public and private, and all the shipping and merchandize of the town. Gordon having arranged his vessels along the town, the defenceless inhabitants were forced to submit ; and the plunderers took possession of three ships, three brigs, several bay and river craft, sixteen thousand barrels of flour, one thou-

sand hogsheads of tobacco, one hundred and fifty bales of cotton, and wine, sugar, and other articles to the value of about five thousand dollars.

But though Gordon, with his buccaneering crew, had thus taken possession of Alexandria, without a single gun being fired against him, he was not destined to carry off his booty entirely unmolested. General Hungerford arrived near Alexandria with the Virginia militia, and Commodores Rodgers, Porter, and Perry, with a detachment of sailors from Baltimore. It was not deemed proper to disturb the enemy at Alexandria, as that would probably cause the destruction of the place. Commodore Porter, therefore, proceeded down the river, and threw up an entrenchment on a bluff, not far from the ruins of the fort, on the opposite side of the river; and Commodore Perry threw up another a little below. The arrival of a small despatch vessel, which had to fight its way past Porter's battery, convinced Gordon he had no time to lose; and he therefore precipitately left Alexandria, without waiting to destroy the stores which he had not the means of carrying off.

To endeavour to clear the passage, Gordon first sent down a bomb-ship and two barges, one carrying a long thirty-two pounder, the other a mortar. These vessels commenced their operations on Porter's battery, the bomb-ship throwing shells in front, out of the reach of shot, the barges flanking on the right.

When the small vessel passed upwards, the preceding day, Porter had only two small four-pounders, but the same evening two eighteen-pounders reached his position. His force consisted principally of sailors; some navy and militia officers and private citizens acted as volunteers. General Hungerford's militia, who were ordered to co-operate, were stationed in the woods on each side of the battery, in such positions as would effectually protect its rear, in the event of the enemy's landing. These positions, it was supposed, would have enabled them to clear the enemy's decks with their musketry, and in a great measure serve to divert his fire

from the battery, while the thick woods on the high bank would conceal them from view.

The firing lasted all day without intermission; several shells fell near, and burst over the battery; but this had no other effect than to accustom the militia to the danger. In the afternoon, Porter took an eighteen-pounder to a more advanced point, about a mile distant, and commenced a fire on the bomb-ship, which did so much execution as to draw on him the fire of all the vessels, including a schooner and an eighteen gun brig which had dropped down that day.

The following day, August 3d, Gordon left Alexandria with his prizes, which he anchored above the battery, out of the reach of the cannon. The bombarding vessels were reinforced by another bomb-ship, and a sloop of war fitted up as a rocket ship. The latter anchoring within reach of the battery, Porter was enabled to play on her with great effect, and compelled her to change her position. All this day and the succeeding night, the enemy kept up a brisk fire of shot, shells, and rockets.

Within a few hours of the departure of the enemy, Commodore Rodgers arrived at Alexandria from above, with three small fire-vessels, under the protection of four barges or cutters manned with about sixty seamen armed with muskets. He immediately proceeded to attack two frigates and a bomb-ship, which lay about two miles below. The failure of the wind, just as they were within reach of the enemy, prevented any beneficial effect being produced. On their approach, the whole of the enemy's boats were put in motion. Some were employed in towing off the fire-vessels, and the remainder in pursuit of Rodgers' cutters. They did not, however, venture to come within musket shot, though much superior both in force and numbers, but continued at a distance firing their great guns for about half an hour, and then retired to their ships.

The following day another fire-vessel was prepared; but it being calm, Rodgers ordered his Lieutenant and the four cut-

ters to proceed with a lighter, carrying an eighteen pounder, to attack a bomb-ship, which, in the anxiety of the enemy to get below the works which Porter and Perry had thrown up, had been left exposed to attack. At sunset, however, just as he was about to give orders to attack the bomb, Rodgers discovered one of the enemy's frigates behind a point, which obliged him to relinquish this determination, and give orders to proceed across to the Virginia shore, to haul up the boats, and place the lighter in a situation to be defended against the barges of the enemy.

About nine o'clock at night, Rodgers again shifted his situation to the opposite shore, owing to a man being seized under suspicious circumstances on the beach, near a small boat, about a mile above the enemy's headmost ship. The cutters were now hauled up, the lighter placed in an advantageous position, and the seamen on the top of a cliff overlooking the river. Scarcely had this arrangement been completed, when an attack was made by all the enemy's barges. It was met with great intrepidity; the enemy were thrown into confusion, and driven back with loss. The only injury which Rodgers sustained, was one man wounded on board the lighter.

The work at Porter's battery continued to go on; five light field-pieces, from four to six pounders, arrived and were planted, and hopes were entertained of soon receiving some long thirty-two pounders from Washington; a furnace was built for hot shot, and time only appeared necessary to make the battery formidable. The whole of the fourth and fifth, an incessant fire was kept up by the enemy night and day. He had once attempted landing at night, it is supposed with an intention of spiking the guns of the battery, but was repulsed by the picket guard. The plan of annoying him by advancing guns was now adopted with better effect than before. The rocket-ship lying close in shore, was much cut up by a twelve pounder and two sixes carried to a point; scarcely a shot missed its hull, and for one hour the fire of all the enemy's force was drawn to this point.

The want of ammunition now caused a suspension of firing at the battery at a most unfortunate moment, just as Commodore Rodgers was approaching with his last fire-ship. The enemy being thus enabled to direct the whole of their attention towards him, Rodgers was forced to fire the vessel prematurely, and order his boats to retire, to prevent their being taken possession of by the numerous barges of the enemy.

Some thirty-two pounders now arrived at the battery, and carpenters were employed to make carriages. Two mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, and an abundance of shot and shells were also received; two barges were equipping, and every thing promised that the battery would speedily be put in a proper state for annoying the enemy. In the evening two frigates anchored above, making the whole force of the enemy opposed to the battery three frigates, three bomb-ships, a sloop of war, a brig, a schooner, and two barges, carrying altogether one hundred and seventy-three guns. The guns mounted in the battery were three eighteen pounders, two twelve pounders, six nine pounders, and two fours. The two mortars were without carriages, as were all the thirty-twos, for notwithstanding every effort was made, both at Washington and on the spot, they could not be completed in time.

On the morning of the 6th, the enemy showing a disposition to move, intelligence to that effect was sent to General Hungerford, and preparations made to meet them at the battery with hot shot. About twelve o'clock the two frigates got under way, with a fair wind and tide, and stood down; the rocket-sloop, bomb-vessels, brig, schooner, and prizes followed in succession, the gun-boats endeavouring to flank the battery on the right. Porter immediately despatched an officer to General Hungerford, to request him to take the position agreed upon in the woods on the heights; but from the distance of his camp, and the quick approach of the enemy, he was unable to march before the firing commenced, and, after that period, it was rendered impossible, from the vast

quantities of shot, shells, and rockets which were showered over the hills and fell among his troops.

As the enemy approached, a well-directed fire was kept up from the battery with hot and cold shot. The officers and men stood the broadsides of the ships with unparalleled firmness. But from the militia not making their appearance, the whole of the enemy's fire was directed at the battery. Porter, therefore, finding that in a few minutes all the enemy's force would be brought to bear on him, and entertaining no hopes of preventing his passing, as some of his men had already been killed and wounded, he determined not to make a useless sacrifice. When the enemy was on the point of anchoring abreast the battery, therefore, after sustaining his fire an hour and a quarter, the commodore directed the officers and men to retire behind a hill on the left, and be in readiness to charge the enemy if he should land to spike the guns. The two frigates anchored abreast, the bombs, sloops, and smaller vessels passed outside them, all pouring into the battery and neighbouring woods a tremendous fire of every description of missile. In the woods on the left, a company of riflemen from Jefferson county, Virginia, under Captain George W. Humphreys, greatly distinguished themselves by a well-directed fire on the enemy's decks, as did a company of militia under the command of Captain Gena, who was posted on the right. The first lost one man killed, and one sergeant and four privates wounded; the latter two privates killed. After the bombs, gun-vessels, and prizes had all passed, the frigates proceeded down and anchored abreast of Commodore Perry's battery, where a constant firing was kept up until after sunset.

But the guns at Perry's battery were of too small calibre to make much impression on the enemy. A single eighteen pounder, which arrived only thirty minutes before the firing began, ill supplied with ammunition, was the only gun that could be of much service. The ammunition of this gun, and that of several of the six-pounders, being expended, and the fire of the enemy being very heavy, it was thought advis-

able to retire a short distance in the rear. This was done in good order, after sustaining their fire for more than an hour.

The advantageous situation of this battery prevented the enemy from doing much injury. Only one man was wounded. The number of killed and wounded at Commodore Porter's battery did not exceed thirty. The loss of the enemy was seven killed, and thirty-five wounded.

Sir Peter Parker, who was sent up the Chesapeake to make a diversion in favour of this expedition, was the least fortunate of the commanders. He met his death in a conflict with a small body of militia on the eastern shore of Maryland, under the command of Colonel Reid.

A force of about one hundred and fifty men was landed at night from his vessel, at the head of which he placed himself, with the intention of surprising the militia in their camp. The movement of the British barges, however, had been discovered, and every preparation was made to give them a warm reception. The camp and baggage were removed, and the troops posted on a rising ground, flanked on both sides with woods, with the artillery in the centre. The head of the enemy's column soon appeared, and received the fire of the American advance at seventy paces distance. Being pressed by superior numbers, the advance were ordered to retire, and form on the right of the line. The fire now became general, and was sustained by the militia with the most determined valour. The enemy pressed in front; but being foiled, he threw himself on the left flank, where his efforts were equally unavailing.*

The fire of the enemy had nearly ceased, when Reid, the commander of the militia, was informed, that the cartridges were entirely expended in some parts of the line, and that none of the men had more than a few rounds, although each had brought twenty into the field. The artillery cartridges were entirely expended. Under these circumstances, the troops were ordered to fall back to a convenient spot where a

* Historical Register vol. iv.

part of the line was fortified, for the purpose of distributing the remaining cartridges.

But the enemy having sustained a severe loss, found it more prudent to retreat than to pursue. They retired to the beach, carrying with them all the wounded they could find, among whom was Sir Peter Parker, who expired a few minutes after being carried from the field. The loss of the British on this occasion was fourteen killed, and twenty-seven wounded. The Americans had only three wounded. Nothing but the want of ammunition could have saved the whole party of the British from capture.

An intelligent French writer, in noticing the capture of Berlin by the Russians in 1760, remarks, that two important military principles may be deduced from that event. First, That the possession of a capital does not decide the fate of a state, or even of a campaign. Second, That in the modern art of war, *men* are of more importance than fortified places, and that a general should never acknowledge himself vanquished, though all his strong holds be subdued, if he retain his soldiers and his constancy. If these observations be correct in their application to European capitals, how much more forcibly do they apply to that of the federal government, a mere open village, of about eight thousand inhabitants, and in a country thinly populated! Indeed, the capture of Washington cannot be viewed in any other light than as a predatory incursion, under the pretence of retaliation, but really with the view of striking terror and inducing submission, and at the same time producing an effect in Europe, where the occupation of the capital of their enemy, it was doubtless conceived, would be viewed as a most brilliant exploit. General Ross had neither the intention nor the means of holding Washington. Without artillery or stores, he was unable to remain longer than twenty-four hours, when a retreat was commenced under favour of the night, and even then this retreat would have been extremely hazardous, but for the disorganized state of his opponents, and their blameable deficiency in the article of intel-

ligence. It is true, that had they remained a few days longer, a communication with their shipping would have been opened by the Potomac, but this arose from a circumstance that could not have been foreseen, and Ross certainly acted wisely in not calculating on the destruction of Fort Washington by its commander.

But the capture of Washington produced in Europe a very different effect from what was expected. The Gothic barbarity displayed in the wanton destruction of the public buildings roused the indignation of the whole continent, and even produced such a sensation in the British parliament, as to cause its instigators to resort to falsehood to shield them from the public odium. The agitation of the question also drew from the ministry a statement, that instructions had been sent to the coast of America to desist from further inflictions of vengeance.

The threats of devastation, and their practical operation in the District of Columbia, produced an electric effect throughout the union. A spirit of patriotism was kindled by the flames of the capital, before which all party considerations and honest differences of opinion vanished. The war, at its commencement, was considered an inexpedient measure, by a large and respectable portion of the community. The mode of conducting it also, by the invasion of Canada, was condemned as inefficacious; as resembling more a war for foreign conquest, than a resolute assertion of our naval rights, which ought, it was said, to be conquered on the ocean. All aid, either in men or money, was consequently as much as possible withheld by those who embraced these sentiments. Party considerations had no doubt their effect in producing this result.

But at this interesting crisis a new spirit pervaded the nation, which aroused it almost instantaneously to arms. Party rancour, for a moment, seemed utterly extinct; "this is not the time for speaking, but for acting," became the universal cry. All classes seemed inspired with military ardour; the young and the old, the rich and the poor, rushed into the

ranks, came forward with their contributions, and assisted in the labour of raising works of defence. Nor were even the females idle at this trying moment. Their labours were united in accoutring the volunteers, and in providing for their necessities.

These movements were little if at all regulated by the governments either of the states or of the union. It appeared as if the people, perceiving that the powers with which they had entrusted their rulers were either incompetent to the crisis, or had not been sufficiently acted on, had determined spontaneously to arise in their might, and take the defence of their respective neighbourhoods upon themselves. Committees of vigilance or defence were every where appointed by the people in their town-meetings, who collected money, arms, and ammunition, regulated the military movements of the citizens, and superintended their voluntary labour at the fortifications. Nor was the public enthusiasm unavailing. From this moment, almost every encounter with the enemy shed new lustre on the American arms, till the war finally closed in a blaze of glory at New-Orleans.

The British army having re-embarked on board the fleet in the Patuxent, admiral Cochrane moved down that river, and proceeded up the Chesapeake, and on the evening of the 10th of September appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, about fourteen miles from the city of Baltimore. Anticipating the debarkation of the troops, General Smith, who commanded at Baltimore, had ordered General Stricker to march, with a portion of his brigade of militia, towards North Point, near the mouth of the river, where it was expected the British would make a landing. His force consisted of five hundred and fifty of the fifth regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Sterrett; six hundred and twenty of the sixth, under Lieutenant-Colonel Donald; five hundred of the twenty-seventh, under Lieutenant-Colonel Long; four hundred and fifty of the thirty ninth, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler; seven hundred of the fifty first, under Lieutenant-Colonel Amey; one hundred and fifty riflemen, under Captain Dyer; one hundred

and forty cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Biays; and the Union Artillery of seventy-five men, with six four-pounders, under Captain Montgomery; making an aggregate of three thousand one hundred and eighty-five effective men. Major Randal, with a light corps of riflemen and musquetry, taken from General Stansbury's brigade and the Pennsylvania volunteers, was detached to the mouth of Bear Creek, with orders to co-operate with General Stricker, and to check any landing which the enemy might attempt in that quarter.

The troops moved towards North Point, by the main road, on the 11th, and at three o'clock, P. M. reached the meeting-house, near the head of Bear Creek, seven miles from the city. Here the brigade halted, with the exception of the cavalry, who were pushed forward to Gorsuch's farm, three miles in advance, and the riflemen, who took post near the blacksmith's shop, two miles in advance of the encampment. At seven o'clock, on the morning of the twelfth, information was received from the advanced videttes, that the enemy were debarking troops from and under cover of their gun-vessels, which lay off the bluff of North Point, within the mouth of Patapasco river. The baggage was immediately ordered back under a strong guard, and General Stricker took a good position at the junction of the two roads leading from Baltimore to North Point, having his right flanked by Bear Creek, and his left by a marsh. He here waited the approach of the enemy having sent on an advance corps, under the command of Major Heath, of the fifth regiment. This advance was met by that of the enemy, and after some skirmishing it returned to the line, the main body of the enemy being at a short distance in the rear of their advance. During this skirmishing, Major-General Ross received a musket-ball through his arm into his breast, which proved fatal to him on his way to the water-side for re-embarkation. The command of the enemy's forces then devolved on Colonel Brook. Between two and three o'clock, the enemy's whole force came up and commenced the battle by some discharges of rockets, which were succeeded by the cannon from both sides, and

soon after the action became general along the line. General Stricker gallantly maintained his ground against a great superiority of numbers during the space of an hour and twenty minutes, when the regiment on his left (the fifty first) giving way, he was under the necessity of retiring to the ground in his rear, where he had stationed one regiment as a reserve. He here formed his brigade; but the enemy not thinking it advisable to pursue, he, in compliance with previous arrangements, fell back and took post on the left, a half mile in advance of the entrenchments, which had been thrown up on the hills surrounding Baltimore. About the time General Stricker had taken the ground just mentioned, he was joined by General Winder, who had been stationed on the west side of the city, but was now ordered to march with General Douglas's brigade of Virginia militia, and the United States dragoons, under Captain Bird, and take post on the left of General Stricker. During these movements, the brigades of Generals Stansbury and Foreman, the seamen and marines, under Commodore Rodgers, the Pennsylvania volunteers, under Colonels Cobean and Findley, the Baltimore artillery, under Colonel Harris, and the marine artillery, under Captain Stiles, manned the trenches and batteries, and in this situation spent the night, all prepared to receive the enemy.

Next morning, the British appeared in front of the entrenchments, at the distance of two miles, on the Philadelphia road, from whence he had a full view of the position of the Americans. He manœuvred during the morning towards his right, as if with the intention of making a circuitous march, and coming down on the Harford or York roads. Generals Winder and Stricker were ordered to adapt their movements to those of the enemy, so as to baffle this supposed intention. They executed this order with great skill and judgment, by taking an advantageous position, stretching across the country, when the enemy was likely to approach the quarter he seemed to threaten. This movement induced the British to concentrate their forces in front, pushing his advance to within a mile of the entrenchments, driving in the videttes,

and shewing an intention of attacking the position that evening. Smith, therefore, immediately drew Generals Winder and Stricker nearer to the right of the enemy, with the intention of falling on his right or rear should he attack the entrenchments, or, if he declined it, of attacking him in the morning.

As soon as the British troops had debarked at North Point, the fleet proceeded up the Patapsco, to bombard Fort M'Henry, which commands the entrance to the harbour of Baltimore. On the 13th about sunrise, the British commenced the attack from their bomb-vessels, at the distance of about two miles, when, finding that the shells reached the fort, they anchored, and kept up an incessant and well-directed bombardment.

Fort M'Henry was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Armistead. The garrison consisted of one company of United States artillery, under Captain Evans, and two companies of sea-fencibles, under Captains Bunbury and Addison. Of these three companies, thirty-five men were unfortunately on the sick list, and unfit for duty. In contemplation of the attack, Armistead had been furnished with two companies of volunteer artillery from the city of Baltimore, under Captain Berry and Lieutenant-Commandant Pennington, a company of volunteer artillerists under Judge Nicholson, who had proffered their services, a detachment from Commodore Barney's flotilla, under Lieutenant Redman, and about six hundred infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart and Major Lane, consisting of detachments from the twelfth, fourteenth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-eighth regiments of United States troops—the total amounting to about a thousand effective men. Two batteries to the right of Fort M'Henry, upon the Patapsco, were manned, the one by Lieutenant Newcombe, with a detachment of sailors; the other by Lieutenant Webster, of the flotilla. The former was called Fort Covington, the latter the City Battery.

As soon as the British commenced the bombardment, the batteries at the fort were opened in return; but the firing soon

ceased on the part of the Americans, as it was found that all the shot and shells fell considerably short of the British vessels. This was a most distressing circumstance to the troops in the fort, as it compelled them to remain inactive, though exposed to a constant and tremendous shower of shells. But though thus inactive, and without that security, which, in more regular fortifications, is provided for such occasions, not a man shrunk from his post.

About two o'clock, P. M. one of the twenty-four-pounders on the south-west bastion, under the immediate command of Captain Nicholson, was dismounted by a shell, the explosion from which killed his second lieutenant, and wounded several of his men; the bustle necessarily produced in removing the wounded and remounting the gun probably induced the British to suspect that the garrison was in confusion, as three bomb-ships were immediately advanced. But the fire, which now opened from the fort, soon compelled them to seek shelter, by again withdrawing out of the reach of the guns, when the garrison gave three cheers, and again ceased firing.

The British continued throwing shells, with one or two slight intermissions, for twenty-five hours, viz. from sunrise of the 13th till seven o'clock, A. M. of the 14th of September. During the night, whilst the bombardment was the most severe, two or three rocket vessels and barges succeeded in passing Fort M'Henry, and getting up the Patapsco, but they were soon compelled to retire by the forts in that quarter. These forts also destroyed one of the barges, with all on board. It is supposed, that the vessels that passed the fort contained picked men, with scaling ladders, for the purpose of storming.

In the course of the night, Admiral Cochrane held a communication with the commander of the land forces, and the enterprise being considered impracticable, it was mutually agreed to withdraw. Accordingly, while the bombardment still continued, in order to distract the attention of the Americans, the retreat was commenced. Owing to the extreme darkness, and a continued rain, it was not discovered till

daylight, when General Winder commenced a pursuit, with the Virginia brigade and the United States dragoons ; at the same time, Major Randal was despatched with his light corps in pursuit of the enemy's right, whilst the whole of the militia cavalry was put in motion for the same object. All the troops were, however, so worn out with continued watching, and with being under arms during three days and nights, exposed the greater part of the time to very inclement weather, that it was found impracticable to do any thing more than pick up a few stragglers.

The naval forces, as was before observed, continued the bombardment till seven o'clock. About nine, they retired to North Point, where the embarkation of the troops commenced that evening, and was completed next day at one o'clock. It would have been impossible, even had the American troops been in a condition to act offensively, to have cut off any part of the enemy's rear guard during the embarkation, as the point where it was effected was defended from approach by a line of defences extending from Back river to Humphrey's creek, on the Patapsco, which had been thrown up previous to the arrival of the British.

The loss of the Americans, at the battle near North Point, was twenty-four killed, one hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and fifty prisoners. The loss of the British in this action was thirty-nine killed, and two hundred and fifty-one wounded. The loss in the fort was only four killed and twenty-four wounded ; no list of killed and wounded on board the squadron has been published. From the best calculations that could be made, from fifteen to eighteen hundred shells were thrown by the enemy. A few of these fell short. A large proportion burst over the fort, throwing their fragments around, and threatening destruction. Many passed over, and about four hundred fell within the works. Two of the public buildings were materially injured, the others but slightly.

The effect produced by the joyful intelligence of the failure of the attempt upon Baltimore, may be more easily conceived

than expressed, when it is considered that almost every large town being equally threatened with devastation, the case of Baltimore came home to every individual bosom. But one moment before, the public dismay seemed to have reached its acme ; and the most gloomy anticipations seemed about to be realized.

In the meantime, an attack had been made on the remote southern coast. Hardly was the Creek war at an end, before new troubles sprung up in that quarter, and General Jackson was forced to encounter a much more formidable enemy.

After concluding the treaty with the Creeks, Jackson moved his head-quarters to Mobile, where, on the 27th of August, he received information by express from Pensacola, that three British vessels had arrived there on the 25th, which, on the following day, had disembarked an immense quantity of arms, ammunition, munitions of war, and provisions ; and marched into the Spanish fort between two and three hundred troops. He was likewise informed that thirteen sail of the line, with a large number of transports, bringing ten thousand troops, were daily expected.

On the receipt of this information, Jackson immediately despatched an express to the governor of Tennessee at Nashville, requesting that the whole of the quota of the militia of that state should be organized, equipped, and brought into the field, without delay, and his adjutant-general, then in Tennessee, was instructed to make the necessary arrangements for immediately provisioning and bringing the troops to head-quarters.

The three vessels which had arrived at Pensacola, joined by another, soon after sailed from that port for Mobile, and on the 15th of September appeared off Fort Bowyer. The town of Mobile, where General Jackson had his head-quarters, is situated on the west side of the Mobile river, at its entrance into the bay of the same name. Mobile bay is about thirty miles long, and of considerable breadth ; but its entrance is only five miles broad, and is completely commanded by Fort Bowyer, which is situated at the extreme

point on the east side of the bay. The fort was occupied by a small garrison, commanded by Major Lawrence, of the second infantry.

The British squadron, consisting of two ships and two brigs, appeared in sight about noon of the 15th, standing directly for the fort. At four, in the afternoon, the battery was opened upon them; the firing was immediately returned from all the vessels. A force of one hundred and ten marines, commanded by Colonel Nichols, two hundred Creek Indians, headed by Captain Woodbine, of the British navy, and about twenty artillerists, had been previously landed in the rear of the fort, and opened a fire upon it from a twelve-pounder and a howitzer, but they did no execution, and were soon silenced by a few shot. The action continued without intermission on either side for nearly three hours, when three of the vessels were compelled to retire. The commodore's ship, which mounted twenty-two thirty-two-pound carronades, having anchored nearest the fort, had her cable cut by the shot, and was so much disabled that she drifted on shore, within six hundred yards of the battery; when, the other vessels being out of reach, such a tremendous fire was opened upon her, that she was set on fire and abandoned by such of her crew as survived. Out of a crew of one hundred and seventy men, the commander and twenty men only escaped. On board of the other ship, eighty-five were killed and wounded; one of the brigs also was very considerably damaged; but her loss was not ascertained. The effective force in the fort was about one hundred and twenty men; their loss was only four killed and five wounded. During the hottest part of the action, the flag-staff being shot away, the flag was immediately regained under a heavy fire of grape and cannister, hoisted on a sponge staff, and planted on the parapet. The land-forces retreated by land to Pensacola, after having re-embarked their pieces.

A short time previous to this attack, a proclamation was issued by Edward Nichols, commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces in the Floridas, and dated head-quarters, Pensacola,

addressed to the inhabitants of Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In this address, the natives of Louisiana are called upon to assist the British forces in liberating their paternal soil from a fruitless, imbecile government ; to abolish the American usurpation and put the lawful owners of the soil in possession. The inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee are told that they have too long borne with grievous impositions ; that the brunt of the war has fallen on their brave sons ; and they are entreated to be imposed on no more, but either to range themselves under the standard of their forefathers, or observe a strict neutrality. If they complied with either of these offers, the address assured them, that whatever provisions they sent down should be paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing it, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi, guaranteed.*

The proclamation then calls to the view of the "men of Kentucky the conduct of those factions which hurried them into this cruel, unjust, and unnatural war, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve in defence of her own and the liberties of the world ; when she was expending millions of her treasure in endeavouring to pull down one of the most formidable and dangerous tyrants that ever disgraced the form of man. When groaning Europe was in her last gasp, when Britons alone showed an undaunted front, basely did these assassins endeavour to stab her from the rear ; she has turned on them renovated from the bloody but successful struggle. Europe is happy and free, and she now hastens justly to avenge the unprovoked insult. Shew them," continued Nichols, "that you are not collectively unjust—leave that contemptible few to shift for themselves ; let those slaves of the tyrant send an embassy to Elba, and implore his aid ; but let every honest, upright American spurn them with merited contempt. After the experience of twenty-one years, can you any longer support those brawlers of liberty, who call it freedom, when themselves are no more free than their impostors? Be no longer their dupes, accept my offers, and

* Historical Register vol. iv.

all that is promised you in the proclamation, I guarantee to you, on the sacred word of a British officer."

A greater degree of ignorance of the nature of the people addressed, was perhaps never displayed, than was manifested in this proclamation. Nichols himself was enabled to take a pretty favourable view of its reception a few days after it was issued, as he headed the land forces employed against Fort Bowyer.

Previous to the attack upon Mobile, Nichols had held out the most seducing offers to induce a band of lawless men, who had formed an establishment on the island of Barrataria, to enter into the British service in the operations planned against lower Louisiana. But although these men were acting in the most lawless manner, and though they were actually proscribed by the American government, they would not consent to act the part of traitors. Instead of accepting the British offers, they procrastinated their answer, and immediately despatched the intelligence to New Orleans.

The Barratarians principally consisted of the officers and crews of French privateers, who, on the capture of Gaude-loupe, the last of the French West India islands, had repaired to Carthagena, and accepted commissions from the new government which had been established there. For the convenience of disposing of their prizes, these men resorted to Barrataria, and formed establishments in the island of Grand Terre, and other places along the coast of Louisiana to the west of the Mississippi, whence, it is said, they preyed indiscriminately upon the commerce of all nations, not excepting even that of the United States, in whose dominions they had thus unwarrantably settled themselves. The chief intercourse of the Barratarians was with New Orleans, almost all their prize goods being smuggled into that port.

In the year 1813, this lawless colony excited the attention of the government of Louisiana, and a company was ordered out to break up the establishment. But this small force proved quite ineffectual; the whole party were surprised and captured before they reached the settlements of this resolute

set of men. The naval force, however, being considerably strengthened in the summer of 1814, a new expedition was fitted out. On the 11th of September, Commodore Patterson left New Orleans, with a detachment of seventy of the forty-fourth regiment of infantry, commanded by Colonel Ross, and being joined by the schooner *Caroline* at Plaquemine, and the gun-boats at the Balize, on the morning of the 16th made the island of Barrataria, and discovered a number of vessels in the harbour, some of which shewed Carthaginian colours. As soon as the squadron was perceived, the Barratarians formed their vessels, ten in number, into a line of battle near the entrance of the harbour; and Patterson also formed his vessels into a line of battle, consisting of six gun-boats, a tender, and a launch; the schooner *Caroline* drawing too much water to cross the bar. On the approach of the squadron, however, the Barratarians abandoned their vessels, and took to flight in all directions in their small boats, having previously fired two of their best schooners. The launch, with two gun-barges and the small boats, were immediately sent in pursuit, and all the vessels in the harbour were taken possession of, and the establishment on shore completely destroyed.*

The unprecedented conduct of the governor of Pensacola, in harbouring and aiding the British and their Indian allies, and in allowing them to fit out expeditions against the United States from that port, had been forcibly remonstrated against by General Jackson, but hitherto without effect. Having been reinforced by about two thousand Tennessee militia, which had marched to Mobile through the Indian country, Jackson, advanced towards Pensacola to demand redress. He reached the neighbourhood of that post on the afternoon of the 6th of November, and immediately sent a flag to communicate the object of his visit to the governor; but it was forced to return, being fired on from the batteries. Jackson then reconnoitred the fort, and finding it defended by both English and Spanish troops, determined to storm the

* Historical Register vol. iv.

town, and accordingly made the necessary arrangements for carrying his determination into effect the next day.

The troops were put in motion for the attack early on the 7th. Being encamped to the west of the town, Jackson calculated that the attack would be expected from that quarter. To cherish this idea, part of the mounted men were sent to show themselves on the west, while the remainder of the troops passed in the rear of the fort, undiscovered, to the east of the town. When at the distance of a mile, the town appeared in full view. The troops, principally militia, with a few regulars, and some Choctaw Indians, advanced with the most undaunted courage, although a strong fort appeared ready to assail them on the right, seven British armed vessels on the left, and strong block-houses and batteries of cannon in front. On entering the town, a battery of two cannon was opened on the centre column, composed of the regulars, with ball and grape, and a shower of musketry from the houses and gardens. The battery was immediately stormed, and the musketry was soon silenced by the steady and well directed fire of the regulars.

The governor now made his appearance with a flag, and begged for mercy, offering to surrender the town and fort unconditionally. Mercy was granted, and protection given to the citizens and their property, although the officer commanding the fort refused to give it up, and held it till near midnight, when he evacuated it with his troops. The British moved down to Barrancas, a strong fort commanding the harbour, and, finding that Jackson had gained possession of the town, next morning spiked and dismounted the cannon, and blew up the fort, just as the American troops were preparing to march and storm the place.

The British then withdrew to their shipping, and General Jackson, having accomplished his object, evacuated the town, and returned to the American dominions.

The dangers impending over New Orleans, from the threatened expedition of the British, now rendered the presence of General Jackson highly necessary at that city. He arrived

there with his troops on the second of December, and immediate measures of defence were adopted, by embodying the militia, repairing the forts on the river, and putting the whole in the best possible posture of defence.

A few days after Jackson's arrival, the British fleet made their appearance in the bay of St. Louis, and, on the 12th, appeared in such strength off Ship island, as to induce Lieutenant Jones, who commanded the American flotilla of gun-boats, to retire higher up the lake, for the purpose of taking a position to defend the passes to New Orleans. On the 13th, the American schooner Seahorse, which had been sent by the commodore that morning to the bay of St. Louis, to assist in the removal of some public stores, was attacked by three of the enemy's barges. These were driven off, but being reinforced by four others, the schooner was blown up by her crew, and the store house set on fire. On the following day, the American flotilla, while becalmed, was attacked by forty-two heavy launches and gun-barges, manned with one thousand men and officers, and after a vigorous resistance, for upwards of an hour, against this overwhelming force, the whole flotilla was captured by the enemy.

The news of the arrival of the British squadron in these waters reached New Orleans on the 12th of December, and in a day or two after, martial law was proclaimed in the city, and the militia called out *en masse*. Large appropriations were made by the legislature of Louisiana for the erection of batteries, and granting bounties to seamen to enlist in the service; an embargo was laid for three days in order to stop the departure of those individuals; and a requisition was made by General Jackson of negroes to work on the fortifications, and all those found in the streets were impressed for that purpose, as well as all kinds of drays and carts. Four thousand Tennessee militia arrived by water on the 21st, and Jackson was further reinforced by the Barratarians, to whom an amnesty was granted by the general and the governor of Louisiana, on condition of their joining in the defence of the country.

The loss of the gun-boats having given the enemy command of Lake Borgne, he was enabled to choose his point of attack. It became, therefore, an object of importance to obstruct the numerous bayous and canals leading from that lake to the highlands on the Mississippi. This important service was committed to Major-General Villere, commanding the district between the river and the lakes, who, being a native of the country, was presumed to be best acquainted with all these passes. Unfortunately, however, a picket which the general had established at the mouth of the bayou Bienvenu, and which, notwithstanding General Jackson's orders, had been left unobstructed, was completely surprised, and the enemy penetrated through a canal leading to his farm, about two leagues below the city, and succeeded in cutting off a company of militia stationed there. This intelligence was communicated to Jackson about twelve o'clock on the twenty-third. His force at this time consisted of parts of the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, not exceeding six hundred together, the city militia, a part of General Coffee's brigade of mounted gun-men, and the detached militia from the western division of Tennessee, under the command of Major-General Carrol. These two last corps were stationed four miles above the city. Apprehending a double attack by the way of Chef Menteur, General Carrol's force, and the militia of the city, were left posted on the Gentilly road, and at five o'clock, in the afternoon Jackson marched to meet the enemy, whom he was resolved to attack in his first position, with Major Hind's dragoons, General Coffee's brigade, parts of the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, the uniformed companies of militia, under the command of Major Planche, two hundred men of colour, chiefly from St. Domingo, and a detachment of artillery, under the direction of Colonel M'Rea, with two six-pounders, under the command of Lieutenant Spots, not exceeding in all one thousand five hundred men.

Jackson arrived near the enemy's encampment about seven, and immediately made his dispositions for the attack. The enemy's forces, amounting at that time on land to about three

thousand, extended half a mile on the river, and in the rear nearly to the wood. General Coffee was ordered to turn their right, while, with the residue of the force, Jackson attacked his strongest position on the left near the river. Commodore Patterson, having dropped down the river in the schooner *Caroline*, was directed to open a fire upon their camp, which he executed about half after seven. This being the signal of attack, General Coffee's men, with their usual impetuosity, rushed on the enemy's right and entered their camp, while Jackson's troops advanced with equal ardour.

Unfortunately, a thick fog, which arose about eight o'clock, caused some confusion among the different corps. Fearing the consequences, under this circumstance, of the further prosecution of a night attack with troops then acting together for the first time, Jackson contented himself with lying on the field that night; and at four in the morning assumed a stronger position about two miles nearer to the city.

In this action the American loss was twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four missing; the British loss amounted to forty-six killed, one hundred and sixty-seven wounded, and sixty-four missing.

The country between New Orleans and the sea is one extensive swamp, excepting the immediate banks of the Mississippi. These banks are generally about a quarter of a mile wide, and being higher than the country behind, are dry, except in time of inundation, when the whole country would form one vast flood, were it not for the artificial banks or levees which have been erected for the preservation of the farms on this narrow, but fertile strip of land. The city of New Orleans itself is protected from the river in the same manner. At intervals there are *bayous* or outlets which pierce these banks; the water which flows through them, however, never returns to the bed of the river, but finds its way to the Gulf of Mexico by other channels through the swamps.

From this description of the country, it will be perceived, that New Orleans is extremely susceptible of defence, and that over a certain proportion, numbers are nearly unavailing.

The position taken up by General Jackson occupied both banks of the river. On the left it was simply a straight line of a front of about one thousand yards, with a parapet, the right resting on the river, and the left on a wood, which communicated with the swamp, and the passage of which had been rendered impracticable for troops. This line was strengthened by flank-works, and had a ditch with about four feet of water. On the right bank was a heavy battery of fifteen guns, which enfiladed the whole front of the position on the left bank.

The British having erected a battery in the night of the 26th, succeeded, on the following day, in blowing up the schooner *Caroline*, which lay becalmed a short distance above in the Mississippi. Her crew, however, had previously made their escape. Emboldened by this event, the enemy marched his whole force on the 28th up the levee, in the hope of driving the Americans from their position, and with this view opened upon them, at the distance of about half a mile, his bombs and rockets. He was repulsed, however, with the loss of sixteen killed, and thirty-eight wounded. The American loss was seven killed, and eight wounded.

Another attempt was made upon the American lines on the 1st of January. The enemy having the preceding night erected a battery near the works, in the morning opened a heavy fire from it, and made two bold attempts to force and turn the left wing, in both of which they were repulsed; and in the course of the night they retreated to their lines, leaving all their guns on the battery, which they had previously spiked, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, working-tools, and their dead unburied. Their loss on this occasion was thirty-two killed, forty-four wounded, and two missing; that of the Americans, eleven killed and twenty-three wounded.

General Jackson was reinforced by two thousand five hundred Kentucky militia on the 4th, and on the 6th the British were joined by General Lambert, at the head of the second

part of the expedition. Serious preparations were now made for storming the American works.

On the night of the 7th, with infinite labour, the British succeeded in getting their boats into the Mississippi, by widening and deepening the channel of the bayou, from which they had about two weeks before effected their disembarkation. Though these operations were not unperceived, it was not in Jackson's power to impede them by a general attack : the nature of the troops under his command, mostly militia, rendering it too hazardous to attempt extensive offensive movements in an open country, against a numerous and well-disciplined army. Although his forces, as to number, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, his strength had received very little addition ; a small portion only of that detachment being provided with arms. Compelled thus to wait the attack of the enemy, Jackson, however, took every measure to repel it when it should be made, and to defeat the object in view.

Early in the morning of the 8th, the enemy, after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on the right and left to storm the entrenchments on the left bank of the Mississippi, throwing over a considerable force in his boats at the same time to the right bank. The entrenchments on the right bank, were occupied by General Morgan, with the New Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia, and a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops ; General Jackson, with the Tennessee and the remainder of the Kentucky militia, occupied the works on the left bank.

The columns of the enemy advanced in good order towards Jackson's entrenchments, the men shouldering their muskets, and all carrying fascines, and some with ladders. The batteries now opened an incessant fire on the British columns, which continued to advance in pretty good order, until, in a few minutes, the musketry of the militia joining their fire with that of the artillery, began to make an impression on them, which soon threw them into confusion. At this time the noise

of the continued rolling fire resembled the concussion of tremendous peals of thunder. For some time the British officers succeeded in animating the courage of their troops, although every discharge from the batteries opened the columns, mowing down whole files, which were almost instantaneously replaced by new troops coming up close after the first: but these also shared the same fate, until at last, after twenty-five minutes continued firing, through which a few platoons advanced to the edge of the ditch, the columns broke and retreated in confusion.

A second attack was received in the same manner. The British were forced to retreat, with an immense loss. But vain was the attempt of the officers to bring them up a third time. The soldiers were insensible to every thing but danger, and saw nothing but death, which had struck so many of their comrades.

Near the commencement of the attack, General Packenham, the British commander-in-chief, lost his life at the head of his troops, and soon after Generals Keane and Gibbs were carried off the field dangerously wounded. A great many other officers of rank fell, and the plain between the front line of the British and the American works, a distance of four hundred yards, was literally covered with the enemy's dead and wounded. At this time General Jackson's loss was only seven killed and six wounded.

The entire destruction of the British army had now been inevitable, had not an unfortunate occurrence at this moment taken place on the right bank of the river. The troops which had landed there were hardy enough to advance against the works, and at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for with confidence, the Kentucky militia ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces. Commodore Patterson, who commanded the batteries, was of course forced to abandon them, after spiking his guns.

This unfortunate rout totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which he could



annoy Jackson without hazard, and by means of which he might have been enabled to defeat, in a great measure, the effects of the success of the Americans on the other side of the river. It became, therefore, an object of the first consequence to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object, all the means which Jackson could with any safety use, were immediately put in preparation. But so great had been the loss of the British on the left bank, that they were not able to spare a sufficient number of troops to hold the position which they had gained on the right bank without jeopardizing the safety of the whole. The troops were therefore withdrawn, and Jackson immediately regained the lost position.

The spirit of atrocity and vengeance, which marked the conduct of the British during the campaign, was manifested even in this battle, although they suffered so signal a defeat. After their final repulse on the left bank, numbers of the American troops, prompted merely by sentiments of humanity, went, of their own accord, in front of the lines, to assist the wounded British, to give them drink, and to carry them (as they did several of them on their backs) within the lines. While they were thus employed, they were actually fired upon, and several killed. Yet the others, regardless of the danger, persevered in their laudable purpose. This instance of baseness may have proceeded from individuals; nor would it in common cases be presumed, that the men were ordered to fire by their officers: but if the fact be, as has been repeatedly asserted without contradiction, that the watchword of the day was the significant words "*beauty and booty*," no charge would seem too atrocious for belief against the British commanders.

The total loss of the Americans in this action on both sides of the river, was thirteen killed, thirty-nine wounded, and nineteen missing. The British acknowledge a loss of two hundred and ninety-three killed, one thousand two hundred and sixty-seven wounded, and four hundred and eighty-four

missing. About one thousand stand of arms of different descriptions were taken by the Americans.

The British having retired to their old position, continued to occupy it till the night of the 18th, although constantly annoyed by the American artillery on both sides of the river. At midnight they precipitately decamped, and returned to their boats, leaving behind, under medical attendance, eighty wounded, including two officers. Fourteen pieces of heavy artillery, and a quantity of shot, were also abandoned, and a great deal of powder, which, however, was previously destroyed. But, such was the situation of the ground which the enemy abandoned, and of that through which he retired, protected by canals, redoubts, entrenchments, and swamps on his right, and the river on his left, that Jackson could not, without encountering a risk which true policy did not seem to require or to authorise, attempt to annoy him much on his retreat. He took only eight prisoners.

Commodore Patterson, however, despatched five boats and a gig, manned and armed with fifty men, under the command of Mr. Thomas Shields, purser on the New Orleans station, to annoy the retreat of the British. On the night of the 19th, a boat lying at anchor was captured by surprise, without resistance, containing forty dragoons and fourteen seamen. The prisoners exceeding the detachment in numbers, Shields returned, and placing them in charge of the army, again set out in pursuit, in the hope of intercepting some of the enemy's boats about day-light, but without success.

On the morning of the 21st, Shields once more pushed off among the transports of the enemy, and captured several, but unfortunately, owing to a strong contrary wind, he was not able to bring them off; some of them were therefore given up to the parolled prisoners, and the remainder destroyed. Seventy-eight prisoners, were brought in by this intrepid little band.

Meantime the British fleet having proceeded up the Mississippi, bombarded Fort St. Philip for eight or nine days; but not being able to make any impression, they commenced their

retreat about the same time that the army above embarked in their boats, viz. on the 18th of January. The bombarding vessels were stationed most of the time out of the reach of the guns of the fort. Major Overton, the commander, lost only two killed and seven wounded.

We have never seen any official statement of the forces employed in this expedition; but the most probable calculation makes the force landed below New Orleans, about fifteen thousand, viz. eleven thousand land-troops, and four thousand sailors and marines. So confident were the British of success, that collectors of the customs and other civil officers attended the expedition, several of whom were among the prisoners taken by Shields, on the retreat of the army.

As soon as the British troops were embarked on board their shipping, the squadron made for Mobile bay, and completely invested Fort Bowyer both by land and water. A large force was landed on the 18th of February, who made regular approaches, keeping up a constant firing, until the 11th, when, the approaches being within pistol-shot of the fort, Colonel Lawrence was summoned to surrender. Resistance being unavailing against the overwhelming force of the enemy, articles of capitulation were agreed to, surrendering the fort to the British, the garrison, consisting of three hundred and sixty-six men, including officers, being considered prisoners of war. On the 10th and 11th, General Winchester, who commanded at Mobile, threw a detachment across the bay for the relief of Fort Bowyer, but too late to effect any thing, except the capture of one of the British barges, with seventeen men.*

The "conquerors of Europe" were here stopped in their conquest of America, by the news of a treaty of peace, which being soon after officially confirmed, they were compelled, however reluctantly, to evacuate the country. This treaty was signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, ratified by the prince regent of England, on the 28th, and by the

* Historical Register vol. iv.

president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the 18th of February, 1815.

Thus ended the first considerable war, in which the nation had been engaged, since the adoption of the constitution. Its effect upon the character and interests of the republic was highly beneficial. It excited a national feeling in the breasts of Americans; it created new motives to union, and of attachment to our republican institutions, and the blood and treasure which were expended in the struggle, however humanity might have regretted the sacrifice, have already been amply repaid by the important and salutary consequences, which they have secured to us and to our posterity.



CHAPTER XX.

Black Hawk's War.



IN the year 1804 a treaty was concluded by Governor Harrison with some of the chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes, Indian tribes on our north western frontier, by which they ceded to the United States all their lands East of the Mississippi, and agreed to remove to the western side of that river. This treaty was not observed. The Indians said that it was executed by a few chiefs without the knowledge or consent of the nation, and they did not feel themselves bound by its obligations, and would not give up their hunting grounds and the graves of their fathers.*

Thus stood affairs in the north-west, when Illinois was admitted to the union ; and emigrants poured into the new state from all parts, and formed settlements, where the natives had hitherto remained nearly undisturbed. The lead mines of Galena, drew thither a considerable population, and in a very short time the territory occupied by the Sacs and Foxes was completely surrounded by the settlements of white men. In these circumstances the ordinary causes of collision could not be avoided. The whites were the first to commence depredations. In 1827, when the warriors of the tribes were

* Moore's Indian Wars.

away from their homes, engaged in hunting, they set fire to their principal village and burnt forty houses. When the Indians returned they said nothing about this act, but quietly began to rebuild their town. The whites next drove their cattle into the cornfields of the Indians, by which their winter's sustenance was destroyed, and a partial famine was the consequence. They continued, in this manner to make depredations and harass their unoffending neighbours until at last, they drove them to take up arms; and, had not General Gaines arrived, and in a friendly council, held with the principal chiefs, persuaded them instantly to remove to the other side of the river, a desperate and revengeful war would certainly have taken place.*

Keokuk, their principal chief, with a majority of the nation were on peaceable terms with the United States; but Black Hawk, with a party which, by his eloquence, he had gained over to himself, determined, at all hazards, to recross the river and keep possession of their village and corn fields. They accordingly returned to Illinois, saying that they had been invited by the Pottowattomies, a tribe residing on the Rock River, to spend the summer with them, and help them to plant their corn. On their way to the country of the Pottowattomies, they abstained from committing any violence, and probably they would have continued peaceful had not the whites been the first to shed blood. Five of the Indians were attacked by a party of militia under Major Stillman, and two of them were killed, the other three succeeded in effecting their escape and informing Black Hawk of the barbarous murder of two of their number. Black Hawk immediately determined on revenge, and, though he had only forty men with him, he planned an ambuscade at Sycamore Creek, where he knew that Major Stillman would cross, with at least two hundred and seventy men. When the militia came to the creek they began to cross it as they arrived, in the greatest disorder. When the greater part had crossed their ears were assailed by the terrible Indian war cry,

* Murray's United States.

and, thinking themselves surrounded by an army of savages, they immediately without offering the least resistance began a flight, and retreated with the greatest precipitancy, leaving twelve men dead on the field. The smallness of Black Hawk's force prevented a pursuit.

Now that the Indians had tasted blood, and the war was begun in earnest, they determined to do all the mischief in their power. They accordingly divided into small parties, most of them consisting of ten or twelve, some of them however numbering as many as fifty or sixty, and attacking the scattered and unprotected settlements, spread such terror and consternation throughout the state, that Governor Reynolds found it necessary to call out two thousand additional men to overawe them. These were placed under the command of General Atkinson and on the 10th of June arrived at Hennepin, on the Illinois river. The General was ordered to pursue Black Hawk, wherever he should be found, to kill or take him and disperse his followers.

On the 20th of May 1832, the Indians headed by a Pottowattomie, attacked a small settlement on Indian Creek, and after killing fifteen persons, took considerable plunder and some captives. Among the latter were the Misses Hall, two young ladies of remarkable beauty. They were treated with courtesy and respect, and soon after ransomed, although a chief eagerly claimed one as his prize, and used the most earnest solicitations to induce her to become his bride. She was allowed to depart, leaving with him a lock of her hair, which he took, not as a fond remembrance, but as a trophy of his warlike exploits.

On the 22d of May, a party of spies, sent out by General Atkinson, were attacked by the Indians, and five of them killed. On the 14th of June, five persons were killed, near Galena. General Dodge, being in the neighbourhood, immediately started in pursuit of the offenders with thirty mounted men. Before he had proceeded more than three miles he discovered twelve Indians, to whom he gave chase, and driving

them into a swamp, slaughtered them without mercy, although they made no resistance.

On the 18th Captain Stevenson, with a small party, was attacked by a superior number of the enemy, under Black Hawk, and, though they were severely handled for a time, yet they succeeded in effecting their retreat with the loss of only three men.

In the mean time General Scott had been sent to reinforce General Atkinson, and had arrived at Chicago; but on the route, the troops had been attacked by the Cholera, and were reduced to such a small number by that fell disease, that a junction would have been useless, and would only have served to introduce the plague among the forces already in the field. They therefore remained at Chicago.

General Atkinson, having been informed that Black Hawk was encamped near the Four Lakes, started with his whole force, in pursuit of him. But the wily Indian, being made acquainted by his spies, of the number of his enemies, and the direction of their march; and afraid of having his retreat cut off, abandoned his camp, and, carefully concealing his course, descended the Wisconsin, in order, if possible, to effect his escape in that direction. In this, however, he was disappointed; for General Dodge came upon his trail, and immediately commenced a vigorous pursuit. He came up with them, as they were about to cross the Wisconsin, about forty miles below Fort Winnebago, and immediately commenced an attack. But night coming on, and the whites having marched forty miles that day, General Dodge thought proper not to pursue the enemy across the river. Among his prisoners, he found one, the wife of the warrior Big-Lake, from whom he learned the future designs of Black Hawk. She informed him that Black Hawk intended to proceed to the west side of the Mississippi, above Prairie du Chien; those of his followers who had horses were to strike across the country, whilst the others were to proceed by the Wisconsin; and a place of rendezvous was appointed for all to meet on the west side of the Mississippi. The greater number of those

who descended the Wisconsin fell into the hands of the whites: while Generals Atkinson and Dodge pursued the main body towards the great river.

The Indians were now truly in a starving condition. In the pursuit of them before the battle, many were found dead in the road, who had fallen from exhaustion and actually died of hunger. Now, in their flight, it was impossible for them to encumber themselves with provisions, and, such was their haste, that they could obtain very little by the way. Yet, notwithstanding all this they resolved to continue hostility as long as they were able.

When the main body, under Black Hawk, reached the Mississippi on the 1st of August, their crossing was prevented by the steamboat Warrior. The chief, this time wishing only to escape, displayed two white flags, and sent about a hundred and fifty of his men to the river without their arms as a sign of submission. But Throckmorton, the commander of the boat, thinking that they only wished to decoy him, ordered them to send a boat aboard. This not being immediately done he gave orders to his men to fire on them, when they commenced a destructive fire with their musketry, and a six pounder loaded with cannister. The Indians returned the fire but without doing much damage. The battle was kept up for about an hour, when the wood of the steamboat began to fail, and it proceeded to the Prairie. The Indians had twenty-three men killed, and many wounded, the whites, only one wounded.

On the next day, the 2d of August, Atkinson's army came up with Black Hawk, and immediately prepared for action. Lest some of the Indians might escape by retreating up or down the river, Generals Alexander and Posey were ordered to form the right wing of the army, and march to the river above the Indian encampment on the bank, and move down on them. General Henry with the left wing was to march in the main trail of the enemy; while the U. S. infantry and General Dodge's squadron marched in the centre under the command of General Atkinson. In this order the

attack commenced, and, after three hours of hard fighting, they succeeded in killing, routing, or taking prisoners all that opposed them. The Indians fought with desperation and disputed the ground with the greatest valour. Their loss was supposed to be upwards of one hundred and fifty killed. That of the whites in killed and wounded was twenty-seven.

Some of the Indians had crossed the river before the arrival of Atkinson, and it is believed that Black Hawk either escaped by swimming the river or by stealing up along the bank. This action may be considered as putting an end to the war with the Sacs and Foxes; for, from that time Black Hawk's men continually deserted him and went over to the whites, and on the 27th of August, the warrior himself came in, and surrendered himself to the agent at Prairie du Chien. On this occasion he made a speech in which he said; "You have taken me prisoner with all my warriors. I am much grieved, for I expected, if I did not defeat you, to hold out much longer, and give you more trouble before I surrendered. I tried hard to bring you into ambush, but your last General understands Indian fighting. The first one was not so wise. When I saw that I could not beat you by Indian fighting, I determined to rush on you, and fight you face to face. I fought hard. But your guns were well aimed. The bullets flew like birds in the air, and whizzed by our ears, like the wind through the trees in the winter. My warriors fell around me; it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose dim on us on the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. That was the last sun that shone on Black Hawk. His heart is dead, and no longer beats quick in his bosom. He is now a prisoner to the white men; they will do with him as they wish. But he can stand torture, and is not afraid of death. He is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian."

In this strain of impassioned eloquence he continued telling them that he had done nothing for which an Indian ought to

be ashamed ; that an Indian who was as bad as the white men would not be allowed to live in his nation ; that, though the white men do not scalp the head, they poison the heart, and in a few years his countrymen would become like the white men, so that they could not be trusted, and they would, as in the white settlements, have need of nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them and keep them in order. He concluded with the following words : “ Farewell, my nation ! Black Hawk tried to save you, and avenge your wrongs. He drank the blood of some of the whites. He has been taken prisoner and his plans are stopped. He can do no more. He is near his end. His sun is setting, and he will rise no more. Farewell to Black Hawk.”

Black Hawk was taken to Washington where he had an interview with the President. He was then conducted through the principal Atlantic cities, to show him the power, the greatness and the number of the people against whom he had been contending, and the folly of waging war against such a nation. He was every where received with the most marked attention and hospitality ; and, on being set at liberty, he returned to his own nation, on the Des Moines river, where he died on the 3d of October 1838.



CHAPTER XXI.

The Seminole Wars.



S soon as the war of 1812 was ended, the Indians in Florida, instigated by Edward Nichols and James Woodbine, formerly officers in

the British service, again took up the hatchet against their white neighbours. These two men, in order the more completely to effect their purpose, established a fort on the Appalachicola river, to which they encouraged the disaffected Indians and runaway negroes to flee as to a place of safety. At this place, naturally strong by its position, they mounted twelve pieces of artillery, and in July 1816, their garrison amounted to four hundred negroes and Indians, who were well supplied with provisions and all the munitions of war.*

To dislodge this band of outlaws, Colonel Clinch was despatched with a small number of regulars and some Indians under the command of their chief McIntosh, and in the beginning of July he laid siege to the fort on the land side. Two schooners had been sent from New Orleans to supply

* Moore's Indian Wars.

Clinch with provisions and munitions of war. Having obtained the permission of the Governor of Pensacola, these vessels proceeded up the Appalachicola, under the convoy of two gun boats, each mounting one twelve pounder, and carrying twenty-five men. Colonel Clinch deemed this small force insufficient to attack the fort on the river side and accordingly cautioned the commander against any offensive operations. But, when near the fort, a watering party of seven men were attacked by an ambuscade of negroes; five were killed, one escaped and the other was taken prisoner, tortured, and murdered. The commander of the gun-boats immediately warped up sufficiently near to the fort and commenced a fire on it with hot shot, one of which entered the magazine and blew up the fort. By this accident the fort was completely destroyed; two hundred and seventy of the enemy were killed, and most of the remainder wounded. An immense quantity of arms and munitions of war, designed for supplying the Indians and negroes, with the means of annoying the frontier settlers, fell into the hands of the conquerors.*

Nichols and Woodbine had fled on the first appearance of the troops, having first exacted an oath from their followers, not to suffer an American to approach the fort and live.

While these events were passing in West Florida, a similar system of operations was carried on in East Florida. The interior of that province of Spain was occupied by runaway Indians—outlaws—known by the name of Seminoles, which in the Creek language signifies *wild*, and they were so called because they had estranged themselves from their former country and comrades. These Indians were in close alliance with another tribe called Red-Sticks, who were Creeks expelled from their lands in 1813. They had erected a high pole at their principal village of Mikasauky, which they striped with red paint. Hence their name of Red-Sticks. This pole was only erected when the people intended to make war, and used as a kind of flag-staff, the flag

* Moore's Indian Wars.

being formed of the scalps of murdered enemies. These, with the assistance of some hundreds of runaway negroes from Georgia, could bring upwards of fifteen hundred warriors into the field, and were continually committing depredations on the border settlements, aided and encouraged it is said by the Spanish authorities of Florida.

The region which had thus become the seat of a sanguinary border warfare was under the immediate command of General Gaines, who directly set about strengthening and protecting the frontier by the erection of Forts Scott and Gaines, on the Flint river; the former, near its junction with the Chatahoochee, and the latter on the line between Georgia and Mississippi. He also built a fort on the Cancho branch of the Escambia river.

In pursuance of his orders "to remove the Indians still remaining on the lands ceded by the treaty made by General Jackson with the Creeks," General Gaines, on the 19th of November 1816, sent an officer to Fowltown, to require the removal of certain Indians still remaining there. The chief returned a haughty refusal. The next day Major Twigs being despatched with a strong force to bring the chief and Indians to Fort Scott, was attacked on the way, but he succeeded in repulsing the enemy and continued his march to Fowltown, which he found deserted.

On the 30th of November, Major Muhlenburg, with three vessels containing stores for Fort Scott arrived in the Apalachicola, but owing to contrary winds was unable to ascend, the river. Lieutenant Scott was sent to his assistance with a boat and forty men. When he reached the vessels, Muhlenburg, took twenty of the men out of the boat, and filling their places with his sick soldiers and women, sent the boat back to the Fort. When they reached the mouth of the Flint river, they were suddenly attacked by the old Chief Hornotlimed and his band of warriors, and all were killed except six soldiers who escaped to the opposite shore by swimming. The Indians took the scalps of their victims and carried them to Mikasauky, where they were added to the trophies on the red pole.

General Jackson arrived at Fort Scott with nine hundred Georgia militia on the 9th of March 1817, and immediately took the command. On the 1st. of April he was joined by one thousand Tennessee Volunteers ; and about the same time by McIntosh the Creek chief, with fifteen hundred warriors thus increasing his whole force to four thousand three hundred men.

With this overwhelming force he proceeded to Mikasauky, which he found deserted by the inhabitants, who had left their red pole standing, with the scalps upon it. He burned the town to the ground, orderd McIntosh to scour the country in search of the fugitives, and marched to St. Marks then in possession of Spain, took posession of it and sent the garrison to Pensacola.

Hornotlimed and the Creek Chief Francis Hillishago were decoyed into a vessel at the mouth of the Appalachicola, and soon after hung as traitors. In the neighbourhood of St. Marks General Jackson captured a Scotch trader named Alexander Arbuthnot, who had been carrying on an extensive intercourse with the hostile Indians and negroes.

On the 9th of April the General marched from St. Marks and on the 16th arrived at the Sawaney villages, which he found almost deserted. The villages were destroyed and parties sent out in search of the fugitives. On the 18th Robert Ambrister who had been a Lieutenant of Marines under Nichols was captured, together with a schooner belonging to Arbuthnot. The schooner was employed in transporting the sick and baggage of the army to St. Marks. When Jackson arrived at St Marks Arbuthnot and Ambrister were tried by a Court Martial, condemned and executed.

Receiving intelligence that some of the fugitive Seminoles had escaped to West Florida, after leaving a garrison at St. Marks, Jackson marched for Pensacola, took possession of the town, and compelled the governor and garrison to take refuge in Fort Barancas. The bombardment of that fortress was instantly commenced and it was obliged to surrender to the United States on the 27th of May. St Augustine was next captured

by a detachment under General Gaines, and the first Seminole war ended by the conquest of Florida.

But the Seminoles were not yet subdued ; and other nations of the south showed that they yet retained the warlike spirit of their fathers.

The remains of their tribes, by successive wars, purchases, and treaties, had become scattered throughout the territory in detached sections, completely surrounded and enclosed by their conquerors. In such a situation, frequent collision was almost unavoidable. The Indians murmured, that the remnant of their territory was eagerly coveted and grasped at by every possible means ; that they were exposed to constant outrages, without hope of redress ; to which might be added, that they often sought it themselves not in the mildest manner. The state governments complained, that to have independent states of so turbulent a character enclosed within their domain, was incompatible with any regular system of administration. In these circumstances a plan was devised, which was first developed by Monroe in his message of the 7th of December 1824. Beyond the most western frontier of the states there lay a great extent of territory, which though rude, contained as much productive land as would be sufficient for the support of all these tribes. It was proposed to present such motives as might induce them to quit all the domains now held by them within the Union, and emigrate thither. They were to be paid the full price of the former, to be freely transported and established in their new possessions, and receive their subsistence for one year.

This plan continued to be prosecuted under the administration of Adams, yet without, for some time, making much progress. To quit their native seats, the home of their fathers, the tombs of their ancestors, appeared to the Indians an evil not to be compensated by any external advantages in a distant and unknown region. Jackson, however, applied himself to the object with characteristic energy and determination. Without employing absolute compulsion, he intimated that they could only remain on condition of ceasing to be independent, and be-

coming subject to the laws of the state within which they were located. This alternative, as was expected, appeared to them so terrible, that a reluctant consent to removal began to be extorted. In December 1830, the president could announce a treaty to that effect with the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Fruitless negotiations were carried on with the Cherokees; but in 1832 agreements were made with the Creeks in Alabama, and the Seminoles in Florida, who in their difficult country, had been reinforced by fugitives from various states.

The latter stipulated for a deputation to proceed and to examine the territory assigned, understanding that the final decision was to depend upon its report. Government, on the contrary conceived the engagement to be absolute, and in April 1834 obtained a vote of congress for its execution. The deputation, on their return reported favourably of the territory, but objected to the vicinity in which they would be placed to some hostile tribes. The year 1835 having nearly elapsed without any movement, Jackson pressed with extreme urgency their immediate departure. The resolution was then taken of resisting to the last extremity. Ocoola, the chief proclaimed it treason for any Indian to leave the country. A general attack was commenced on the American frontier posts, which, being very unprepared, suffered severely. On the 28th of December 1835, a detachment of one hundred and two men commanded by Major Dade was cut off, three only escaping; and the bodies of the slain were found fifty-three days after, lying unburied on the field of battle. On the 31st a body of between two and three hundred was defeated with the loss of sixty-three killed and wounded. The war spread among the adjacent tribe of the Creeks, and became one of the longest and most obstinate ever waged between the two races. When the main force of the States was brought up, the insurgents were unable to face it in the open field; but to root them out of the swamps, morasses, and dense entangled forests of this most difficult country, proved a task truly arduous. What rendered the American force both inefficient and expensive was its being mostly composed of militia, called out only for a certain time, a great part

of which was occupied in the march and return. The total expenditure of the war is reckoned at twenty millions of dollars.

At length in 1839, General Macomb concluded a treaty, by which they were not obliged to emigrate, but allowed to occupy unmolested a certain range of territory. Thence however they made formidable incursions, and it was not till August 1842 that government could announce the final termination of this contest. The Creeks had already been subdued, and about 1840 the object had been nearly completed of transporting the whole of the Indian race to the territory assigned to them along the western frontier.



THE END.

NATIONAL WORKS BY PROFESSOR FROST, LL. D.

Published by D. Appleton & Company.

THE BOOK OF THE ARMY;

Comprising a general Military History of the United States, from the period of the Revolution to the present time, with particular Accounts of all the most celebrated Military Battles, compiled from the best authorities. By JOHN FROST, LL. D., Professor of Belles Letters in the High School of Philadelphia. Embellished with numerous Engravings and Steel Portraits. One vol., 12mo., \$1.25

This work gives a complete history of military operations, and their causes and effects, from the opening of the Revolution to the close of the last war, with graphic descriptions of the celebrated battles and characters of the leading generals. The importance of popular works of the class to which this and "The Book of the Navy" belong, must be obvious to all who recognize the value of national recollections in preserving a true national spirit.

THE BOOK OF THE NAVY;

Comprising a general History of the American Marine, and particular Accounts of all the most celebrated Naval Battles, from the Declaration of Independence to the present time, compiled from the best authorities. By JOHN FROST, LL. D. With an Appendix, containing Naval Songs, Anecdotes, &c. Embellished with numerous original Engravings, and Portraits of distinguished Naval Commanders. One vol., 12mo., \$1.

This is the only popular and yet authentic single view which we have of the naval exploits of our country, arranged with good taste and set forth in good language.—*U. S. Gazette.*

This volume is dedicated to the Secretary of the Navy, and is altogether a very faithful and attractive historical record. It deserves, and will doubtless have, a very extended circulation.—*Nat. Intel.*

THE BOOK OF THE INDIANS

Of North America. Their Manners, Customs, and Present State. Compiled from the most recent authorities. By JOHN FROST, LL. D. One vol., 12mo., with numerous illustrations, \$1.

The intention of this work is to furnish a correct view of the present state of the aborigines of the country, and especially of the wild Indians, who are comparatively ignorant of the white man, and his arts of civilization. The authorities chiefly relied on are Mr. Catlin, Prince Maximilian, of Weed, and other recent travellers, with occasional anecdotes from older writers.

A useful and acceptable volume, to all who desire authentic information respecting Indian life, with numerous pictorial sketches. The writer enters minutely into the domestic and social habits of the Indian tribes, and gives a graphic description of the hunting grounds and the wild animals of the chase. Altogether he has compiled a meritorious text book of Indian history.—*Com. Adv.*

THE BEST WORK ON THE HORSE.

D. Appleton & Company have recently published

STABLE ECONOMY;

A TREATISE ON THE MANAGEMENT OF HORSES, IN RELATION TO STABLING, GROOMING, FEEDING, WATERING, AND WORKING.

BY JOHN STEWART,

Veterinary Surgeon, and lately Professor of Veterinary Medicine, in the Andersonian University, Glasgow.

From the third English edition, with Notes and Additions, adapting it to American Food and Climate. By A. B. ALLEN, Editor of the American Agriculturist.—Illustrated with numerous Engravings. One volume, 12mo. Price, \$1.

HEADS OF CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER I. STABLING.—CONSTRUCTION OF STABLES.—VENTILATION OF STABLES.—APPENDAGES OF STABLES. CHAPTER II. STABLE OPERATIONS.—STABLE MEN.—GROOMING.—OPERATIONS OF DECORATION.—MANAGEMENT OF THE FEET.—OPERATIONS IN THE STABLE. CHAPTER III. STABLE RESTRAINTS.—ACCIDENTS.—HABITS.—VICES. CHAPTER IV. WARMTH. CHAPTER V. FOOD.—ARTICLES OF.—COMPOSITION OF.—PREPARATION OF.—ASSIMILATION OF.—INDIGESTION OF.—PRINCIPLES OF FEEDING.—PRACTICE OF FEEDING.—PASTURING.—SOILING.—FEEDING IN STRAW YARD. CHAPTER VI. WATER. CHAPTER VII. SERVICE.—GENERAL PREPARATION FOR WORK.—PHYSIOLOGY OF MUSCULAR EXERTION.—PREPARATION FOR FAST WORKS.—PRESERVATION OF WORKING CONDITION.—TREATMENT AFTER WORK.—ACCIDENTS OF WORK.—KINDS OF WORK.—REPOSE. CHAPTER VIII. MANAGEMENT OF DISEASED AND DEFECTIVE HORSES.—MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.

Extract from Author's Preface.—"To trace the operation, so far as known, of every agent by which the horse is materially affected—to analyze compound agents—to consider the effects of each individually and in combination—and to make practice the master of theory, are the principal objects at which I have aimed in this work. I have labored to obtain all the information that labor could promise me, and I have endeavored to arrange the whole subject into divisions which will, as I think, render every part of it easily understood, and easily referred to by any one not ignorant of the English tongue."

American Editor's Preface.—It may be thought perhaps, by some, presumptuous on the part of any American, to undertake the editing with a view of improvement, a work of the standard reputation of Stewart's Stable Economy. But it must be recollected that the climate and much of the food, and, consequently, the general management of the horse in Great Britain, are so different from what they necessarily must be in North America, that great injury is often done to that noble animal by following British instructions too closely in his rearing, and above all in his stable management.

The horse, both theoretically and practically, has been a favorite study with me from childhood; and for the past ten years I have been more or less engaged in breeding and rearing them on my own farm and in breaking and fitting them for market. I also had in early life during a residence of nearly two years in the North of Europe the advantage of studying the stable economy of large military establishments; and to inform myself, by personal inspection, on the subject of the horse in general, and particularly his rearing and stable treatment; and in so doing, examined alike the thorough-bred, the hunter, the roadster, the farm, and the dray-horse.

Mr. Stewart evidently knew little of chemistry, either animal or vegetable; and in speaking of these matters incidentally, particularly regarding the composition of food, the effects of cold and heat on the animal, etc., etc., has made some gross mistakes. Since he wrote, Dumas, Bouissangault, Liebig, Payen, Johnston, Playfair, Read, and others have thrown great light on this hidden science, thus enabling me to correct errors of considerable magnitude; and to add some things to the Stable Economy, important to a judicious and enlightened treatment of the horse. In editing the work I have suppressed a few whole pages, all of which were either quite erroneous in matter of fact or totally inapplicable to this country. About the same quantity of matter suppressed has been added by me which is inclosed in brackets: the engravings of Mr. Gibbons, and the description of the same, are original with the American edition. Altogether I trust I have made the work more acceptable to my countrymen than it was originally.

NEW WORK ON PRACTICAL FARMING,

D. Appleton & Co. have recently Published

RURAL ECONOMY;

IN ITS RELATION WITH

CHEMISTRY, PHYSICS, AND METEOROLOGY: OR, CHEMISTRY
APPLIED TO AGRICULTURE.

BY J. B. BOUISSANGAULT,

Member of the Institute of France, etc.

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, BY
GEORGE LAW, AGRICULTURIST.

One handsome volume, 12mo. of 500 pages. Price \$1 50.

HEADS OF CHAPTERS.—I. PHYSICAL PHENOMENA OF VEGETATION—VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY. II. Of the CHEMICAL CONSTITUTION OF VEGETABLE SUBSTANCES. III. Of the SACCHARINE FRUITS, JUICES, and INFUSIONS used in the PREPARATION OF FERMENTED and SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS. IV. OF SOILS. V. OF MANURES. VI. OF MINERAL MANURES OF STIMULANTS. VII. Of the ROTATION OF CROPS. VIII. Of the FEEDING of the ANIMALS belonging to a FARM and of the IMMEDIATE PRINCIPLES of ANIMAL ORIGIN. IX. Of the ECONOMY of the ANIMALS attached to a FARM. Of STOCK in general, and its RELATION with the PRODUCTION of MANURE—METEOROLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Extract from Translator's Introduction.

In the person of the distinguished author of this work the man of science is happily associated with the practical farmer—the accomplished naturalist, the profound chemist and natural philosopher, and friend and fellow-laborer of Arago, Biot, Dumas, and all the leading minds of his age and country—M. Bouissangault's title to consideration is recognised wherever letters and civilization have extended their influence.

Surely, the collected and carefully recorded experience of such a man must have value in the estimation of every educated mind, and cannot fail to be especially welcome to that class of readers who are professionally engaged in the practical application of that noble science which his labors have contributed to illustrate and advance.

The chemical portion of this work is of inestimable value, and conducted with consummate skill and knowledge; and with a minuteness and accuracy perfectly unexampled. At the same time the results of the writer's researches, as well as the means and processes by which these results were obtained, are displayed with such absolute perspicuity as to be intelligible and instructive to every agricultural inquirer, however superficial his previous acquaintance may be with the details of chemical science. Nothing from the pen of the editor could throw additional light upon the author's most interesting elucidation of vegetable physiology; his exposition is at once masterly and complete, and contains much that is both valuable and new. Every intelligent farmer will find his account not merely in a repeated perusal of this portion of the work, but in regarding it as a text-book and manual to be kept by him for permanent reference and consultation.

On the subject of soils the distinguished author is so thoroughly explanatory and judicious that nothing is left for the editor but to approve and recommend. The subject of Manures is taken up, and discussed with characteristic minuteness through many succeeding pages.

To the author's sixth chapter the reader may be advantageously referred, as containing a very full and valuable description and discussion, under the head of Mineral Manures, of the different varieties of the class usually denominated stimulants, and concluding with a brief but lucid and interesting account of *water*, considered as an agent of vegetation, and of its importance for manuring purposes. The composition and preparation of liquid manures, as well as the various means of procuring and preserving them, will be found to have engaged much of the author's attention.

The Editor is anxious to direct especial attention to the author's seventh chapter, wherein he treats of the organic and inorganic manures, and of crops—of the elements of manures and of crops, with their relations *inter se*, &c.—a section of the work which presents, in synopsis, a more copious and complete body of new, interesting and important facts, of a nature more valuable to the practical farmer than has ever been collected in any previous treatise on agricultural science.

The interesting and simple instruction conveyed in the observations of this profound observer upon the food and alimentary treatment of cattle of every species, accompanied as they are by minute details of the results obtained in the shape of organic and inorganic elements, cannot be too urgently recommended to the attentive consideration of every one interested in that important branch of rural economy to which they more particularly relate.

The meteorological section of the volume will be found no less instructive to the agriculturist than fascinating to the general reader.

IMPORTANT HISTORICAL WORK.

D. APPLETON & CO. HAVE JUST PUBLISHED,

A MANUAL OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

COMPRISING

I.

Ancient History ;

Containing the Political History, Geographical Position, and Social State of the Principal Nations of Antiquity, carefully revised from the ancient writers, and illustrated by the discoveries of Modern Scholars and Travellers.

II.

Modern History ;

Containing the Rise and Progress of the Principal European Nations, their Political History, and the changes in their Social Condition, with a History, of the Colonies founded by Europeans.

BY W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL. D.,

Of Trinity College, Dublin.

Revised, with an Additional Chapter on the United States,

BY C. S. HENRY, D. D.,

Professor of History in the University of New-York

One handsome volume 8vo. of upwards of 700 pages.

*** For the convenience of Students as a text book, the Ancient or Modern portions can be had separately bound.

The ANCIENT HISTORY division comprises Eighteen Chapters, which include the general outlines of the History of Egypt—the Ethiopians—Babylonia and Assyria—Western Asia—Palestine—the Empire of the Medes and Persians—Phœnician Colonies in Northern Africa—Foundation and History of the Grecian States—Greece—the Macedonian Kingdom and Empire—the States that arose from the Dismemberment of the Macedonian Empire—Ancient Italy—Sicily—the Roman Republic—Geographical and Political Condition of the Roman Empire—History of the Roman Empire—and India—with an Appendix of important illustrative articles.

This portion is one of the best Compendis of Ancient History that ever yet has appeared. It contains a complete text for the collegiate lecturer ; and is an essential hand-book for the student who is desirous to become acquainted with all that is memorable in general secular archæology.

The MODERN HISTORY portion is divided into Fourteen Chapters, on the following general subjects :—Consequences of the Fall of the Western Empire—Rise and Establishment of the Saracenic Power—Restoration of the Western Empire—Growth of the Papal Power—Revival of Literature—Progress of Civilization and Invention—Reformation, and Commencement of the States System in Europe—Augustan Ages of England and France—Mercantile and Colonial System—Age of Revolutions—French Empire—History of the Peace—Colonization—China—the Jews—with Chronological and Historical Tables, and other Indexes. Dr. Henry has appended a new chapter on the History of the United States.

This Manual of Modern History, by Mr. Taylor, is the most valuable and instructive work concerning the general subjects which it comprehends, that can be found in the whole department of historical literature.

D. Appleton & Co. have

IN COURSE OF PUBLICATION IN PARTS, PRICE 25 CENTS EACH,

HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY M. MICHELET,

Professeur-suppléant à la Faculté Des Lettres, Professeur à L'Ecole Normale
Chef de la Section Historique aux Archives du Royaume.

TRANSLATED BY G. H. SMITH, F. G. S., &c.

The celebrity of this work on the Continent, and the want in English Literature of a good history of France, has induced the publishers to introduce it to the American public at a price within the means of all.

* * It is designed to publish the work in monthly parts, (or oftener if possible.) Two parts of the American edition containing a volume of the Paris, at one-third the cost. The whole work will probably make sixteen Nos., and bind in four octavo volumes.

OPINIONS OF HIGH CRITICAL AUTHORITIES.

From the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, Vol. 50.

"M. Michelet, whose Historical labors both on Ancient and Modern topics have long rendered him a great favorite with the French public, is placed in one of the most enviable situations that an historian can hold, as chief of the Historical Section in the Archives du Royaume—all the riches of this immense establishment are in his own keeping; and this circumstance, added to his honorable position of Professor of History for France, puts him at once at the head of the historical portion of his own countrymen. To the accumulated stores of a life of continual research, he adds the precious acquirements of a most accomplished modern linguist, and a well read scholar in the tongues of classical antiquity; he possesses unwearied powers of application, and is one of the most conscientious searchers of original documents that is any where to be met with. . . . The highly poetical and religious turn of mind of this author leads him to place every thing in new and original points of view; his descriptions are accurate, full of details, and eminently graphic. After quoting passages from the author's work, the reviewer says: These passages, which we have cited at considerable length in order to make the reader more fully acquainted with M. Michelet's style, are too beautiful, too dramatic, to need much comment of our own. We need only say that the same strain of poesy prevades almost every page of his book; that as the reader turns over leaf after leaf he finds new views opening to his sight, new methods of treating matters of previously well known historical celebrity, and every where the most cheering and amiable display of candor, moderation, and conscientious judgement. It is impossible to peruse these volumes without feeling a regard for the author that increases the farther we advance in them."—*For. Quarterly Review*, Vol. L.

"Michelet's History has only to be translated to become one of the most popular books ever published. The author is a man of the highest genius; his erudition is wonderful, and he is at once philosophic and dramatic, uniting the severest judgment to the most facile and delicate imagination. His history is thus not only a succession of faithful pictures but a series of the profoundest deductions. The modern French school of history, comprising as it does, among many illustrious names, those of Thiers, Guizot, and Thierry, is deservedly acknowledged as the first in Europe, and at the head of it we should certainly place Mons. Michelet."—*Monthly Magazine*.

**BIOGRAPHICAL, LITERARY, AND PHILOSOPHICAL
ESSAYS,**

CONTRIBUTED TO THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

BY JOHN FOSTER,

AUTHOR OF ESSAYS ON "THE DECISION OF HUMAN CHARACTER," ETC.

One handsome Volume 12mo. of upwards of 400 pages. \$1 25.

The volume contains twenty articles, thus entitled:—I. Chalmers' Astronomical Discourses.—II. Memoirs of John Horne Tooke.—III. Coleridge's Friend.—IV. Fox's James the Second.—V. Edgeworth's Essays on Professional Education.—VI. British Statesmen.—VII. Memoirs of Lord Kames.—VIII. Plumptre's Defence of the Stage.—IX. Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin.—X. Life of Beattie.—XI. Edgeworth's Tales of Fashionable Life.—XII. Life of Blair, and Characteristics of his Sermons.—XIII. Ritchie's Life of Hume.—XIV. Philosophy of Nature.—XV. Carr's Stranger in Ireland.—XVI. Epic Poetry.—XVII. Superstitions of the Highlanders.—XVIII. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography.—XIX. Southey's Chronicles of the Cid.—XX. Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians.

"These contributions well-deserve to class with those of Macaulay, Jeffrey, and Sydney Smith, in the Edinburgh Review. They contain the productions of a more original and profound thinker than either, whose master-mind has exerted a stronger influence upon his readers, and has left a deeper impression upon our literature, and whose peculiar merit it was to present the doctrines and moralities of the Christian faith, under a form and aspect which redeemed the familiar from triteness, and threw a charm and freshness about the severest truths."—*London Patriot*.

* * * The American reprint contains a complete INDEX, prepared expressly—the want of which in the English copy, is strongly complained of by the London reviewers.

**MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS ON CHRISTIAN MORALS,
EXPERIMENTAL AND PRACTICAL.**

ORIGINALLY DELIVERED AS LECTURES AT BROADMEAD CHAPEL, BRISTOL,

BY JOHN FOSTER.

One Volume, 18mo., of near 300 pages. 50c.

This volume contains twenty-six subjects:—I. The New Year.—II. Spring and its Moral Attributes.—III. Autumn and its Moral Attributes.—IV. Winter and its Moral Attributes.—V. Supreme Attachment due to spiritual objects.—VI. Spiritual Freedom produced by knowledge of the Truth.—VII. Christ, though invisible, the object of devout affection.—VIII. Fallacies operating against earnestness in Religion.—IX. Earnestness in Religion enforced.—X. Comprehensiveness of the Divine Law.—XI. Self-Discipline suitable to certain Mental States.—XII. Characteristics of Vain Thoughts.—XIII. Correctives of Vain Thoughts.—XIV. Necessity and Right Method of Self-Examination.—XV. Uses and Perversions of Conscience.—XVI. Formality and Remissness in Prayer.—XVII. Watchfulness and Prayer.—XVIII. Sober-Mindedness.—XIX. False Grounds of Superiority in Holiness.—XX. Right Mode of giving and receiving Reproof.—XXI. Noah and the Deluge.—XXII. Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.—XXIII. Elijah's Sacrifice and the Priests of Baal.—XXIV. Ignorance of our mode of future existence.—XXV. Christian Doctrine of the Perfectibility of Man.—XXVI. End of the Year.

These Essays will be hailed as a literary treasure by all who are acquainted with the transcendent disquisitions of Mr. Foster on "Decision of Character and Popular Ignorance."

INCIDENTS OF SOCIAL LIFE

AMID THE EUROPEAN ALPS.

Translated from the German of

I. HEINRICH ZSCHOKKE,

BY LOUIS STRACK.

ONE HANDSOME VOLUME, 12mo., \$1 00.

This volume includes four narratives, thus entitled:

I. Florian, the Fugitive of the Jura.—II. Marble and Conrad: Mend the hole in your Sleeve.—III. Oliver Flyeln: a Fool of the Nineteenth Century.—IV. Hortensia, the Double-sighted: Asleep and Awake.

The titles of the four Tales of which this volume is composed, at once attracted our attention; and we concluded that it was not an ordinary ephemeral work of insipid and trifling fiction. Doubtless they are sketches from life, having all the verisimilitude of actual portraiture, the truthfulness of well-known scenery, the tones of a lofty morality, and the attraction of the best sensibilities of the heart. We recommend all persons who are conscious of a hole in their sleeves, to read Zschokke's book, and they will learn the way to mend it; and if they wish to become wise, they will take some lessons of truth and knowledge from the "Fool of the Nineteenth Century."—*Cour. & Enquirer*.

CABINET EDITION OF STANDARD BRITISH POETS.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF FELICIA HEMANS.

Printed from the last London edition.

EDITED BY HER SISTER.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TEN STEEL ENGRAVINGS.

Two vols. 16mo., neatly bound in cloth \$2.50, silk \$4, mor. \$5.

Of this highly accomplished poetess it has been truly said, that of all her sex "few have written so much and so well." Although her writings possess an energy equal to their high-toned beauty, yet are they so pure and so refined, that not a line of them could feeling spare, or delicacy blot from her pages. Her imagination was rich, chaste, and glowing. Her chosen themes are the cradle, the hearth-stone, and the death-bed. In her poems of *Cœur de Lion*, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Bernard del Carpio, we see beneath the glowing colors with which she clothes her ideas, the feelings of a woman's heart. Her earlier poems, *Records of Woman*, and *Forest Sanctuary*, stand unrivalled. In short, her works will ever be read by a pious and enlightened community.

COWPER'S COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS.

The complete Poetical Works of William Cowper, Esq., including the Hymns and Translations from Mad. Guion, Milton, &c., and Adam, a Sacred Drama, from the Italian of Battista Andreini, with a Memoir of the Author, by the Rev. Henry Stebbing, A. M. Two elegantly printed volumes, 400 pages each, 16mo., illustrated with six fine steel engravings, cloth \$1 75, or in one vol. \$1 50, silk, \$2 25, mor. \$3.

THIS IS THE ONLY COMPLETE AMERICAN EDITION.

Morality never found in genius a more devoted advocate than Cowper, nor has moral wisdom, in its plain and severe precepts, been ever more successfully combined with the delicate spirit of poetry, than in his works. He was endowed with all the powers which a poet could want, who was to be the moralist of the world—the reprover, but not the satirist, of men—the teacher of simple truths, which were to be rendered gracious without endangering their simplicity.

BURNS' COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS.

The complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns, with Explanatory and Glossarial Notes, and a Life of the Author, by James Currie, M. D. 1 vol. 16mo., illustrated with five fine steel engravings. Cloth \$1 25, silk \$2, mor. \$2 50.

This is the most complete American edition of Burns, it contains all the poetry comprised in the edition lately edited by Cunningham, as well as some additional pieces; and such notes have been added as are calculated to illustrate the manners and customs of Scotland, and to render the whole more intelligible to the English reader.

"No poet, with the exception of Shakspeare, ever possessed the power of exciting the most varied and discordant emotions with such rapid transition."—*Sir W. Scott.*

MILTON'S COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS.

The complete Poetical Works of John Milton, with Explanatory Notes and a Life of the Author, by the Rev. Henry Stebbing, A. M. Beautifully illustrated. 1 vol. 16mo. Illustrated with six steel engravings. Cloth \$1 25, silk \$2, mor. \$2 50.

THE LATIN AND ITALIAN POEMS ARE INCLUDED IN THIS EDITION.

Mr. Stebbing's Notes will be found very useful in elucidating the learned allusions with which the text abounds, and they are also valuable for the correct appreciation with which the writer directs attention to the beauties of the author.

SCOTT'S POETICAL WORKS.

The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.—Containing Lay of the Last Minstrel, Marmion, Lady of the Lake, Don Roderick, Rokeby, Ballads, Lyrics, and Songs, with a Life of the Author. 1 vol. 16mo. Illustrated with eight steel engravings. Cloth \$1 25, silk \$2, mor. \$2 50.

"Walter Scott is the most popular of all the poets of the present day, and deservedly so. He describes that which is most easily and generally understood, with more vivacity and effect than any other writer. His style is clear, flowing, and transparent: his sentiments, of which his style is an easy and natural medium, are common to him with his readers."—*Hazlitt.*

COMMON-SCHOOL LIBRARY.

First Series, 25 volumes--Second, 22 volumes.

D. APPLETON & CO. respectfully invite the attention of Superintendents and Teachers of District Schools, to their valuable Series of Instructive and Moral Works for youth or the adult. The design has been to embrace in this collection only such Works as may be read by every member of a family, always inculcating a good moral, yet unsectarian in character, aiming to give an interest and a taste for reading.

RECOMMENDATION FROM S. S. RANDALL, DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT OF COMMON SCHOOLS FOR THE STATE OF NEW-YORK.

"I have long been in the habit of recommending your first Series of the School Library to Trustees of School Districts wishing to purchase for their Library; and I can cheerfully bear testimony to the value of the entire Series. Taken as a whole, the works are admirably adapted to the intellectual and moral wants of the rising generation; and the neatness of their execution no less than the cheap rate at which you are enabled to afford them, renders their introduction into our School District Libraries in every respect desirable."

FIRST SERIES.

- THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF HENRY HUDSON. By the author of "Uncle Philip's Conversations."
- THE ADVENTURES OF HERNAN CORTES, the Conqueror of Mexico. By the same.
- THE LIFE OF CAPT. JOHN SMITH. By the same.
- THE DAWNINGS OF GENIUS; or, Early Lives of Eminent Men. By Anne Pratt.
- THE MYTHOLOGY OF GREECE AND ITALY, adapted for children. By Thomas Keightly.
- THE POPLAR GROVE; or, Little Harry and his Uncle Benjamin. By Mrs. Copley.
- EARLY FRIENDSHIPS. By Mrs. Copley.
- THE PEASANT AND THE PRINCE; a tale illustrative of the French Revolution. By Harriet Martineau.
- MASTERMAN READY; or, the Wreck of the Pacific. Written for Young People. By Capt. Marryatt. Three volumes.
- THE LOOKING-GLASS FOR THE MIND; or, Intellectual Mirror. An elegant collection of delightful stories and tales. Many plates.
- THE TWIN SISTERS, a tale. By Mrs. Sandham.
- FIRST IMPRESSIONS; or, Hints to those who would make Home happy. By Mrs. Ellis.
- THE DANGERS OF DINING OUT; or, Hints to those who would make Home happy. To which is added the Confessions of a Maniac. By Mrs. Ellis.
- SOMERVILLE HALL; or, Hints to those who would make Home happy. To which is added the Rising Tide. By Mrs. Ellis.
- LITTLE COIN, MUCH CARE; or, How Poor People Live. By Mary Howitt.
- WORK AND WAGES; or, How Poor People Live. By Mary Howitt.
- HOPE ON. HOPE EVER; or, the Boyhood of Felix Law. By Mary Howitt.
- STRIVE AND THRIVE, a tale. By Mary Howitt.
- SOWING AND REAPING; or, What will Come of It? By Mary Howitt.
- ALICE FRANKLIN, a sequel to Sowing and Reaping. By Mary Howitt.
- WHO SHALL BE GREATEST? a tale. By Mary Howitt.
- WHICH IS THE WISER? or, People Abroad. By Mary Howitt.
- TIRED OF HOUSEKEEPING. By S. T. Arthur.

SECOND SERIES.

- THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL. By Robert Southey LL. D.
- HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, its Causes and Consequences. By F. Maclean Rowan. 2 vols.
- THE ADVENTURES OF DANIEL BOONE, the Kentucky Rifleman. By the author of "Uncle Philip's Conversations."
- THE YOUNG STUDENT; or, Ralph and Victor. By Madame Guizot. In 3 vols. One of the best moral and instructive works ever written.
- LOVE AND MONEY, an Every-Day Tale. By Mary Howitt.
- THE MINISTER'S FAMILY; or, Hints to make Home happy. By Mrs. Ellis.
- PHILIP RANDOLPH, a tale of Virginia. By Mary Gertrude.
- WOMAN'S WORTH; or, Hints to Raise the Female Character. A very valuable work, suitable for all classes.
- THE SETTLERS IN CANADA, written for Youth. By Capt. Marryatt. 2 vols.
- MY UNCLE, THE CLOCKMAKER, a tale. By Mary Howitt.
- THE GIRLS' MANUAL; containing the Principles of Conduct.
- THE BOYS' MANUAL; containing the Principles of Conduct.
- THE FARMER'S DAUGHTER, a Picture of Humble Life. By Mrs. Camerou.
- THE YOUNG MAN FROM HOME, in a Series of Letters on Dangers and Duties. By J. A. James.
- FAMILIAR LETTERS ON CHEMISTRY, and its application to Physiology, Commerce, and Agriculture. By Prof. Liebig.

* * * The volumes are furnished strongly bound in leather. at 30 cents each by the Series.



